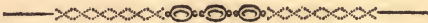



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A
SUMMARY HISTORY
OF
NEW-ENGLAND,
FROM THE
FIRST SETTLEMENT AT *PLYMOUTH*,
TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE
FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.
COMPREHENDING
A GENERAL SKETCH OF THE
AMERICAN WAR.

——
By HANNAH ADAMS.
——

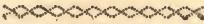
“ Hail, O hail
My much lov'd native land! New Albion hail!
The happiest realm, that, round his circling course,
The all searching sun beholds.

With wisdom, virtue, and the generous love
Of learning fraught, and freedom's living flame,
Electric, unextinguishable, fir'd,
Our Sires establish'd in thy cheerful bounds,
The noblest institutions man has seen,
Since time his reign began.”

DWIGHT'S GREENFIELD HILL, P. 33-35.

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Handwritten signature
Lester B. ...

TO YOU
FROM US



To the READER.



MANY, especially in early life, may wish to peruse a sketch of American affairs, before they have time or ability to acquire more enlarged knowledge. Though the compiler of the ensuing work is impressed with the many difficulties attending it, yet she hopes the charge of arrogance will not be incurred, since her design is merely to encourage and gratify such a wish, by giving the outlines of the interesting history of New-England. In the prosecution of this work, she has, with great care and assiduity, searched the ancient Histories of New-England. She has also had recourse to various manuscripts, particularly, those which throw light on the history of Rhode-Island. For more modern information, she has recurred to Belknap's History of New-Hampshire, Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Ramfay's History of the American Revolution, Gordon's History of the American War, Minot's History of the Infurrection, and his Continuation of Hutchinson; Williams' History of Vermont, Sullivan's History of the District of Maine, and Morfe's Geography. In abridging the works of those excellent authors, she is sensible of her inability to do them justice, and has sometimes made use of their own words. The reader is always referred, for further information, to those ingenious performances; and the highest ambition of the compiler is, that her imperfect sketch may excite a more general attention to the large and valuable histories of the country. In giving a sketch of the American war, her ignorance of military terms has rendered it necessary to transcribe more literally from the words of the authors,

TO THE READER.

than in the other parts of the history. But though a female cannot be supposed to be accurate in describing, and must shrink with horror in relating the calamities of war, yet she may be allowed to *feel a lively interest in the great cause, for which the sword was drawn in America.* The compiler is apprized of the numerous defects of the work, and sensible it will not bear the test of criticism. Her incapacity for executing it has been heightened by a long interval of ill health, which has precluded much of that studious application, which, in a work of this kind, is indispensably necessary. She hopes, therefore, that generous humanity will soften the asperity of censure, and that the public will view with candor the assiduous, though, perhaps, unsuccessful efforts of a female pen.





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CHAPTER I.

Discovery of America by Columbus. Divisions in England after the reformation. Persecution under the reigns of Elizabeth and James. Mr. Robinson and his congregation remove to Holland. Part of his congregation embark for America. Their settlement at Plymouth, and the hardships they endured. They are joined by a small party. Treaty of alliance with the Indian princes. Death and character of Mr. Robinson. A number of the Leyden congregation arrive at Plymouth. The colony obtain a patent. Character, government and religion of the settlers.

THE discovery of America is one of the most celebrated achievements in the annals of history. Christopher Columbus, the discoverer, was a native of the Republic of Genoa. He was born in 1447, and, at the age of fourteen, entered upon a seafaring life, in which profession he was eminently distinguished. After a long and fruitless application to several courts of Europe, his plan of exploring new regions obtained the approbation of Isabella, Queen of Castile. Through

HISTORY OF

her patronage he set sail, 1492, with three small vessels, which contained one hundred and twenty seamen. The formidable difficulties, which attended his voyage to regions hitherto unexplored, were, at length, surmounted by his astonishing fortitude and perseverance. After discovering several of the West-India islands, he built a fort, and left a garrison of thirty-five men in Hispaniola, to maintain the Spanish pretensions in that country. He set out on his return to Spain in 1493, and arrived in March, with the joyful intelligence of a new world, excelling the kingdoms of Europe in gold and silver, and blest with a luxuriant soil.

THE voyages of Columbus paved the way for other European adventurers, who were stimulated by ambition and avarice to make further discoveries; till, finally, the rich empires of Mexico and Peru were subdued by lawless invaders. The feeling heart bleeds in reviewing the history of South-America, and is filled with horror at the successful villainy of its intrepid conquerors.†

THE history of North-America exhibits a very different scene. Many of the first settlers of this country were animated, by the desire of possessing religious liberty, to abandon their native land, where they enjoyed ease and affluence; and to struggle through a variety of hardships, in an uncultivated wilderness inhabited by savages.

THE settlements of New-England, which are the particular object of the ensuing history, owe

† See *Robertson's History of South-America*.

their rise to the religious disputes that attended the reformation in England.

WHEN King Henry VIII. renounced the papal supremacy, he transferred to himself the spiritual power which had been exercised by the Bishops of Rome. He set up himself as supreme head of the English church, and commanded all his subjects to pay allegiance to him in his newly assumed character.

THIS claim was maintained by his son and successor Edward VI. in whose reign the reformation made great progress, and a service book was published by royal authority, as the standard of worship and discipline. His sister Mary, who succeeded him, restored the papal supremacy, and raised such a violent persecution against the reformers, that numbers of them fled into Germany and the Netherlands, where they departed from the uniformity established in England, and became divided in their sentiments and practice respecting religious worship.

AT the accession of Elizabeth, they returned to their native country with sanguine hopes of reforming the church of England, according to the respective opinions which they had embraced in their exile. But they soon found that the Queen was fond of the establishment made in the reign of her brother Edward, and strongly prejudiced in favor of pomp and ceremony in religion. She asserted her supremacy in the most absolute terms, and erected an high commission court, with exten-

five jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs. In consequence of the rigorous measures which were pursued to enforce uniformity, a separation from the established church took place. Those who were desirous of a further reformation from the Romish superstitions, and of a more pure and perfect form of religion, were denominated Puritans.†

DURING the reign of Elizabeth, the Puritans, or Non-Conformists, as they were called, from their refusing to conform to the ceremonies of the church of England, were severely persecuted. Some were cast into prison, where a number perished; others were banished, and a few were put to death. Those Protestants who, during the bloody reign of Mary, suffered all the rigor of persecution, now encountered each other with the same cruel animosity. The manner of proceeding was indeed softened; banishment, fines and imprisonment were substituted for the unrelenting vengeance of the stake. But the principle was the same, and produced a similar effect. In both reigns the number of those who refused to conform to the established worship increased.‡

THE persecution of the Puritans was continued with great severity during the reign of James I. until, despairing of redress, they determined to seek an asylum in a foreign land, where they could enjoy the free exercise of their religious opinions.

† Neal's History of the Puritans.--Belknap's History of New-Hampshire, Vol. I. p. 61, 62, 63.

‡ See Neal's History of the Puritans.

AT the period, when the persecution in this 1608. reign had arisen to its highest degree under Archbishop Bancroft, Mr. Robinson, a dissenting clergyman in England, with part of his congregation, removed to Amsterdam, in Holland, and, with permission of the magistrates, settled at Leyden the subsequent year. There they formed a church, and enjoyed religious liberty. After twelve years residence in Holland, they meditated a removal to America, because they judged it unsafe to educate their children in a country, where the day devoted by Christians to religious rest, was treated, by too many of the inhabitants, as a day of levity and diversion. The other motives, which induced them to emigrate to America were, to preserve the morals of the youth; to prevent them from leaving their parents, and engaging in business unfriendly to religion, from want of employment at home; to avoid the inconvenience of incorporating with the Dutch; to lay a foundation for propagating the gospel in the remote parts of the world; and, by separating from all the existing establishments in Europe, to form the model of a pure church, free from the admixture of human additions; and a system of civil policy unfettered by the arbitrary institutions of the old world. †

As the new world appeared the proper theatre for the execution of their designs, after serious and repeated addresses to Heaven for direction, they resolved to cross the Atlantic. They appli-

† *Prince's Chronological History of New-England, Vol. I. p. 82.*

1608. ed to the Virginia company for permission to establish themselves in America within their limits, and petitioned King James to allow them liberty of conscience.

THE Virginia company freely consented to give them a patent, with as ample privileges as were in their power to grant. But such was the prevailing bigotry of the age, that the solicitations of some of the most respectable characters in the kingdom could not prevail on the King and Bishops to allow the refugees liberty of conscience under the royal seal. His Majesty, however, at last gave private assurance, that they should live unmolested, provided they behaved peaceably, but persisted in refusing to tolerate them by public authority. The hope that the distance of their situation would secure them from the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, induced them, notwithstanding, to put their plan in execution; and, after long attendance, much expence, and labor, they obtained a patent.†

1620. WHILST preparations were making for the departure of the adventurers for New-England, a day was appointed for solemn prayer, on which occasion Mr. Robinson, in a discourse from the 1st of Samuel, xxiii. 3—4, endeavoured to dispel their apprehensions, and inspire them with Christian fortitude. As it was not convenient for all to remove at first, the majority, with their pas-

† *Mather's Magnalia, Book I. p. 6.*

tor, concluded to remain for the present in Leyden. Mr. John Brewster, assistant to Mr. Robinson, was chosen to perform ministerial offices to the first adventurers. Two ships were prepared, one of which was fitted out in Holland, the other hired in London. When the time of separation drew nigh, their pastor preached a farewell discourse from Ezra viii. 21. A large concourse of friends from Leyden and Amsterdam accompanied the emigrants to the ship, which lay at Delft-Haven. The night was spent in fervent and affectionate prayers, and in that pathetic intercourse of soul, which the feeling heart can better conceive than describe. The affecting scene drew tears even from the eyes of strangers. When the period, in which the voyagers were about to depart, arrived, they all, with their beloved pastor, fell on their knees, and, with eyes, hands and hearts raised to heaven, fervently commended their adventuring brethren to the blessing of the Lord. Thus, after mutual embraces, accompanied with many tears, they bade a long, and to many of them a final adieu.†

ON the 22d of July, they sailed for Southampton, where they met the ship from London, with the rest of the emigrants.

ON the 5th of August, both vessels proceeded to sea, but returned twice into port, on account of defects in the one from Delft, which was dismissed.

† *Prince's Chronology, Vol. I. p. 66:*

1620. AN ardent desire of enjoying religious liberty finally overcame all difficulties. A company of an hundred and one persons betook themselves to the London ship, and sailed from Plymouth the 6th of September. After many delays, difficulties and dangers, they made Cape-Cod on the 9th of November, at break of day; and entered the harbor on the 10th.

It was their intention to fettle at the mouth of Hudson's River; but the Dutch, with the view of planting a colony in that place, bribed the pilot to conduct them to these northern coasts, and then, under various pretences, to discourage them from prosecuting their former plan.†

As they were not within the limits of their patent from the Virginia company, they saw the necessity of establishing a separate government for themselves. Accordingly, having offered their devout and ardent acknowledgments to God for their safe arrival, they formed themselves into a body politic, under the crown of England, whilst on board, for the purpose of establishing "just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices." On the 10th of November the adventurers subscribed this contract, thereby making it the basis of their government. They chose Mr. John Carver, a gentleman of piety and approved abilities, to be their governor the first year; and the practice of an annual election con-

† *Morton's New-England's Memorial*, p. 13.

tinued unchanged during the existence of their 1620. government.*

THE first object of the emigrants, after disembarkation, was to fix on a convenient place for settlement. In this attempt they were obliged to encounter numerous difficulties, and to suffer incredible hardships. Many of them were sick in consequence of the fatigues of a long voyage; their provisions were bad; the season was uncommonly cold; the Indians, though afterwards friendly, were now hostile, and the adventurers were unacquainted with the coast. These difficulties they surmounted, and on the 31st of December were all safely landed at a place, which they called Plymouth, in grateful remembrance of the last town they left in their native country.†

THE historians of New-England relate two remarkable events, which wonderfully facilitated the settlement of Plymouth and Massachusetts. The one was a war begun by the Tarratenes, a nation who resided eastward of Penobscot. These formidable people surpris'd the chief sachem at his head-quarters, and destroyed him with all his family; upon which all the other sachems, who were subordinate to him, contended among themselves for the sovereignty; and in these dissensions many of them, as well as their unhappy people perished.‡ The other was a mortal and contagious distemper

* *Mather, B. I. p. 8.*

† *Morse's Geography, Vol. I. p. 344.*

‡ *Gookins' Historical Collections, p. 148:*

1620. which prevailed among the Indians two or three years previously to the arrival of the English at Plymouth, and proved fatal to such numbers, that some tribes were almost extinct. The extent of this pestilence was between Penobscot in the east, and Narraganset in the west. These two tribes escaped, while the intermediate people were wasted and destroyed.*

THE prospects and situation of the Plymouth settlers were gloomy beyond expression. The whole company, which landed consisted of but one hundred and one souls. They were three thousand miles from their native country, with a dreary winter in prospect, in an uncultivated wilderness, surrounded with hostile barbarians, and without any hope of human succour. Their only civilized neighbors were a French settlement at Port-Royal, and an English settlement at Virginia; the nearest of which was five hundred miles distant, much too remote to afford a hope of relief in a time of danger or famine. To obtain a supply of provisions by cultivating the stubborn soil required an immensity of previous labor, and was, at best, a distant and uncertain dependence. They were denied the aid or favor of the court of England—without a patent—without a public promise of a peaceable enjoyment of their religious liberties. In this melancholy situation, forty-five of their number died before the opening of the next spring, of disorders occasioned by their tedious

* *Morton's Memorial*, p. 18, 19, 20. *Belknap's American Biography*, Vol. I. p. 358.

voyage, with insufficient accommodations, and 1620.
 their uncommon exertions and fatigues.*

THE new colony supported these complicated hardships with heroic fortitude. To enjoy full liberty to worship God, according to the dictates of their consciences, was esteemed by them the greatest of blessings. And the religious fervor, which induced them to abandon their native country fortified their minds, and enabled them to surmount every difficulty, which could prove their patience, or evince their firmness.

To their unspeakable satisfaction, their associates in England sent them a supply of necessaries, and a reinforcement of colonists the subsequent year.†

THE prudent, friendly and upright conduct of 1621.
 the Plymouth settlers towards the natives secured their friendship and alliance. As early as March Massassoiet, one of the most powerful sagamores of the neighboring Indians, with sixty attendants, paid them a visit, and entered into a treaty of peace and amity. They reciprocally agreed, to avoid injuries, to punish offenders, to restore stolen goods, to afford mutual assistance in all justifiable wars, to promote peace among their neighbors, &c. Massassoiet, and his successors, for fifty years inviolably observed this treaty. His example was followed by others. On the 13th of September nine sachems declared allegiance to King James. Massassoiet and many of his sub-sachems, who inhabited round the bays of Plymouth and Massa,

* *Prince's Chronology*, Vol. 1. p. 98.

† *Chalmers' Political Annals*, p. 88.

1621. chusetts, subscribed a writing, acknowledging sub-
 jection to the king of England.*

THE Plymotheans early agreed, and purchased a right to the lands, which they cultivated from the Indian proprietors.†

FOR several years after their arrival the whole property of the colony was in common, from which every person was furnished with necessary articles. In the beginning of each year a certain quantity of land was selected for planting, and their proportion of labor was assigned to each one.‡

AT the close of the year 1624 the plantation consisted of one hundred and eighty persons. They had built a town consisting of thirty-two dwelling houses, erected a citadel for its defence, and laid out farms for its support.||

1625. THE following year the new colony received the melancholy intelligence of the death of the Rev. Mr. Robinson, who died at Leyden in the month of March, in the 50th year of his age. The character of this excellent man, who was distinguished both by his natural abilities and an highly cultivated mind, was greatly dignified by the mild and amiable virtues of Christianity. He possessed a liberality of sentiment which was uncommon for the age, in which he lived.§ He was

* *Mather, Book I. p. 10.*

† *Declarations respecting the proceedings of the government of Plymouth.*

‡ *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, Vol. II. p. 474.*

|| *Chalmer, p. 89.*

§ *See Robinson's farewell charge to his flock, when embarking for America, in Neal's History of New-England, Vol. I p. 84.*

revered and esteemed by the Dutch divines, venerated and beloved by his people; and the harmony which subsisted between them was perfect and uninterrupted. His death was greatly lamented by the people at Plymouth, who were flattering themselves with the pleasing hope of his speedy arrival in New-England. In the beginning of the year 1629, they chose Mr. Ralph Smith for their pastor. Previously to his ordination, Mr. Brewster, who had been ruling elder to the church at Leyden, performed all the ministerial offices among them, except administering the sacraments.

AFTER the death of Mr. Robinson, another part of his congregation joined their brethren in America.

WHEN the plantation amounted to about three hundred persons, they obtained a patent from the council of Plymouth. By this grant their lands were secured against all English claims.*

It is a distinguished trait in the settlements of New-England, that they were established from religious motives, by persons of piety and information.

THE Plymotheans were a plain, industrious, conscientious and pious people. Though their piety was fervent, yet it was also rational, and disposed them to a strict observance of the moral and social duties. The leading characters among them were men of superior abilities and undaunted fortitude. The respectable names of Carver,

* Mather, *Book I. p. 12.*

1530. Bradford, Winslow, Prince and others, are immortalized in the annals of New-England.

RESPECTING their civil principles, an ardent love of liberty, an unshaken attachment to the rights of men, with a desire to transmit them to their latest posterity, were the principles, which governed their conduct.*

THEY made the general laws of England their rule of government, and never established a distinct code for themselves. They added, however, such municipal laws as were, from-time to time, found necessary to regulate new and emergent cases, which were unprovided for by the common and statute laws of England.

DURING the infancy of the colony, the whole body of male inhabitants were frequently assembled, to determine affairs both legislative and judicial. When their increase rendered this method impracticable, the governor and assistants were the supreme judiciary power, and sole in judging high offences. Crimes of less magnitude were cognizable before inferior courts and single magistrates; and in civil matters appeals could be made from inferior jurisdictions to the supreme. In the year 1639, they established a house of representatives, composed of deputies from the several towns.†

As the professed design of the settlement of the colony was the advancement of religion, their

* See an account of the church in Plymouth, in the *Historical Collections for the year 1794*. See also Dr. Robbins' anniversary Sermon preached in Plymouth, 1796.

† Hutchinson, Vol. II p. 457. Chalmer, p. 88.

principal object was to form churches on what they supposed to be the gospel plan. Part of the Plymouth settlers had imbibed the opinions of the Brownists; but the instructions of Mr. Robinson lessened their attachment to their former sentiments, and they embraced the congregational system, which was maintained by this pious and benevolent divine. They were of opinion, that no churches or church officers had any power to controul other churches or officers; and that all church members had equal rights and privileges. Their church officers were pastors, ruling elders and deacons. In doctrinal points they agreed with the articles of the church of England, which are strictly Calvinian.*

AGREEABLY to the prevailing prejudices of the age in which they lived, they asserted the necessity of uniformity in religious worship. Yet, however rigid the Plymotheans might have been at their first separation from the church of England, they never discovered so great a degree of intolerance as, at a subsequent period, was exhibited in the Massachusetts colony.†

* *Prince's Chronology, Vol. I. p. 93.*

† *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 478.*



CHAPTER II.

Persecution in England. Settlement of the Massachusetts colony. A charter obtained. Salem is founded, and a church incorporated. Large additions are made to the plantation. Sufferings of the emigrants. Boston founded. Correspondence settled between Plymouth and Massachusetts. Great numbers arrive from England. Of the Massachusetts government. Of the religion of the first settlers of that colony. Their character.

1630.



WHILST the first settlers of New-England were encountering various difficulties, their brethren, the Puritans, in England were suffering a severe persecution. Under the reign of Charles I. the government of the church was committed to Archbishop Laud, a man of warm passions and strong prejudices. Through his influence the royal prerogative was strained to the highest despotism. He was ambitious in his administration to imitate the splendor of the church of Rome. He entertained exalted ideas of the authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and was determined to support it by coercive measures. His aversion to the Puritans impelled him to persecute them with rigorous severity. In the high commission court and star-chamber they were im-

prisoned, fined and banished, in an arbitrary and illegal manner.*

“ THE Laudean persecution, which caused the destruction of thousands in England, proved to be a principle of life and vigor to the infant settlements in America.”† The oppressive government, which was exercised in England, both in church and state, induced several men of eminence to meditate a removal to America, if the measures they pursued for establishing civil and religious liberty in their native country should prove abortive. For this purpose, they solicited and obtained grants of land in New-England, and were assiduously engaged in settling them. Among these patentees were the Lords Brook, Say and Seal, the Pelhams, the Hampdens, and the Pym; names which have since been greatly distinguished in the annals of their country.

ACTUATED by religious motives, a small party ^{1627.} emigrated from the west of England, under the conduct of Mr. Roger Conant. They first came to Plymouth, and, upon their removal from thence, in the year 1626, they settled on that part of the American coast, which afterwards acquired the name of Salem. The various difficulties which they were obliged to encounter induced them to form the design of abandoning their settlement, and returning to England. In the mean time the Rev. Mr. White, minister of Dorchester, had

* See Rapin's *History of England*, and Neal's *History of the Puritans*.

† Morle's *Geography*.

1627. projected an asylum for the silenced Non-Conformist clergy in Massachusetts-Bay. In order to facilitate his design, he used all his influence to persuade Mr. Conant and his party to remain, promising to send them speedily a patent, necessaries and friends. Relying on these assurances, and encouraged under their present hardships by the soft persuasions of hope, they determined to await the event.*

Mr. White engaged a number of influential characters to interest themselves in his plan. On the 19th of March, Sir Henry Roswel, and several other gentlemen, who dwelt about Dorchester, received a patent of Massachusetts-Bay from the council of Plymouth.

1628. THESE gentlemen petitioned for a royal charter, under the idea that their existence and powers would be thereby secured and promoted. They succeeded; and a charter of incorporation was granted by King Charles I. constituting them a body politic, by the name of "the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England," with as ample powers as any other corporation in the realm of England. The patent recited the grant of American territory to the council of Plymouth in 1620. It re-granted Massachusetts-Bay to Sir Henry Roswel and others. The whole executive power of the corporation was invested in a governor, deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants; and, until the annual election of

* *Chalmer*, p. 288.

the company could commence, the governor, de- 1628.
puty-governor, and eighteen assistants were speci-
fied. The governor and seven or more assistants
were authorized to meet in monthly courts, for
dispatching such business, as concerned the compa-
ny or settlement. But the legislative powers of
the corporation were vested in a more popular as-
sembly, composed of the governor, deputy-govern-
or, the assistants and freemen of the company.
This assembly, to be convened on the last Wednes-
day of each of the four annual terms, by the title
of the general court, was empowered to enact laws
and ordinances for the good of the body politic,
and the government of the plantation, and its in-
habitants, provided they should not be repugnant
to the laws and statutes of England. This assem-
bly was empowered to elect their governor, depu-
ty-governor, and other necessary officers, and to
confer the freedom of the company. The compa-
ny was allowed to transport persons, merchandize,
weapons, &c. to New-England, exempt from du-
ty, for the term of seven years; and emigrants
were entitled to all the privileges of Englishmen.
Such are the general outlines of the charter.*

ABOUT the time in which the patent of Massachu-
setts received the royal confirmation, Captain John
Endicot, with one hundred persons, was sent over
by the patentees, to prepare the way for the set-
tlement of a permanent colony in that part of

* See *Massachusetts Colony Charter*, in *Hutchinson's Collection of Papers*, p. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

1628. New-England. After their arrival, they began a settlement, which they named Salem. This was the first town in Massachusetts, the second in New-England.

1629. THE subsequent year, two hundred persons came over and joined Mr. Endicot's colony. Soon after an hundred of the planters removed, and settled Charlestown.*

AGREEABLY to the professed design of their emigration, the colony made it their primary concern to form a church at Salem, upon a similar plan of order and discipline with that of their brethren at Plymouth. The church of Plymouth was convoked to be present by their messengers at the ordination of Messrs. Shelton and Higginson. The day was spent in fasting and prayer. Thirty persons, who desired to join the communion, professed their assent to a confession of faith prepared by Mr. Higginson, and subscribed a covenant drawn up by the same gentleman. Messrs. Shelton and Higginson were then ordained pastor and teacher. The Plymouth messengers gave the right hand of fellowship, by which ceremony the two churches professed mutual affection and communion.†

SEVERAL gentlemen of fortune and distinguished reputation made proposals to the Massachusetts company for settling with their families in America, on condition that the government should be transferred to the inhabitants, and not continued in the hands of the company in London. Mr.

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 9.*

† *Mather, p. 18, 19.*

Matthew Craddock, the governor, communicated ^{1629.} this propofal to the general court. After some debate, their plan was accepted, and the company proceeded to a new election of officers, who were to repair to and fettle in New-England. John Winthrop, Efq. of Groton, in Suffolk, a gentleman of diftinguifhed piety and ability, was chofen governor. Mr. Thomas Dudley was elected deputy-governor; and other worthy characters were chofen for their council. The bufinefs of transferring the patent and corporation, and procuring new fettlers, was profecuted with vigor.*

PREVIOUSLY to leaving their native country, ^{1630.} the new adventurers agreed upon a respectful addrefs to their brethren of the church of England. Their object was to remove prejudices, conciliate the minds of the difaffected, and recommend themfelves and their expedition to the favorable regards of ferious Christians of the Epifcopal perfuafion. In this addrefs they defired to be called their brethren; they requested their prayers; and, in energetic language, profefled the moft affectionate regard for their welfare.†

ON the 12th of June, the company arrived at Salem, with the governor, deputy-governor, affiftants and charter. Before the clofe of the year the number of paffengers amounted to feventeen hundred. In this and the preceding year two thoufand planters arrived in New-England. Thefe fettled about nine or ten towns and villages.

* *Hutchinſon, Vol. I. p. 12, 13, 14. Winthrop's Journal.*

† *See this addrefs in Hutchinſon's Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 487.*

1630. *W* MANY of the first settlers of Massachusetts were possessed of large fortunes in their native country, and enjoyed the elegant accommodations of life. The striking contrast between their former ease and affluence, and the hardships they now endured, must have augmented their distress. They were obliged to dispose of their large and valuable estates to make provision for their enterprize. The rigor of the climate, together with the fatigues and exertions unavoidable in a new settlement, occasioned diseases, which proved fatal to a large number the first winter after their arrival. Their stock of provisions falling short, the dreadful apprehension of perishing by famine was added to their other calamities.*

TOWARDS the close of the year the colony of Charlestown removed to a peninsula, to which they gave the name of Boston, from a town in Lincolnshire, in England, the native residence of some of the first settlers, and from whence they expected the Rev. John Cotton, a celebrated Puritan clergyman. They established a civil government, and congregational church, over which the Rev. John Wilson officiated as the first pastor.

1631. *W* THE subsequent summer a number of passengers arrived from England, among whom was the Rev. John Elliot. This eminent divine spent his first year in Boston, and performed ministerial offices to the church in that place, in the absence of Mr. Wilson, then on a voyage to England. A

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 19.*

number of his particular friends having formed a ^{1631.} settlement, and collected a church, in a town which they called Roxbury, he was ordained their pastor the year after his arrival in New-England.*

IN order to establish a union between the colonies, the governor, accompanied by Mr. Wilson, and other gentlemen, walked forty miles through the woods as far as Plymouth. Mr. Bradford, the governor of Plymouth, received them with great respect; and the interview produced a permanent friendship between the two plantations. ^{1632.}

IN the three following years great additions ¹⁶³³ were made to the Massachusetts colony. Among ^{to} which were several famous Non-Conformist ^{1635.} divines, viz. the Rev. John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and Samuel Stone. Mr. Cotton was immediately chosen assistant to Mr. Wilson, in Boston, and continued with him till his death. Mr. Hooker was elected pastor of a church in Newtown, since called Cambridge, and Mr. Stone was his assistant. The settlement of these celebrated clergymen, joined with the unrelenting severity of Archbishop Laud's administration, produced great emigrations. New plantations were formed, and congregational churches established in various parts of the country.†

SIR Henry Vane, who afterwards acted so conspicuous a part in his native country, was among the passengers who arrived at this period. In compliment to his talents and family, he was chosen governor the subsequent year.‡

* *Mather, Book III. p. 175.* † *Ibid.* ‡ *Chalmer, p. 37.*

1635. THE settlers of Massachusetts purchased their lands of the native proprietors, and gave what was deemed by those savages an adequate compensation. The soil was to them of small value, as they subsisted chiefly by hunting, and did not possess that patient industry, which agriculture requires. In the year 1633, the colony passed an act, prohibiting the purchase of the lands from the natives, without having previously obtained a licence from government.*

AFTER the governor and company removed from London to Massachusetts, the change of place and circumstances induced them to vary in certain instances from the directions of the charter. "They apprehended themselves subject to no other law or rule of government, than what arose from natural reason and the principles of equity, except any positive rules from the word of God."† Influential characters among them maintained, that birth was no necessary cause of subjection; for that the subject of any prince or state had a natural right to emigrate to any other state, or quarter of the world, when deprived of liberty of conscience, and that upon such removal his allegiance ceased. They called their own a voluntary civil subjection, arising merely from a mutual compact between them and the king, founded upon the charter. They acknowledged that this compact obligated them not to be subject to, or seek protection from, any other prince, nor to

* *Sullivan's History of the District of Maine*, p. 140.

† *Hutchinson's Letter of December 7, 1762.*

enact laws repugnant to those of England, &c. 1635. }
 On the other hand, they maintained, that they were to be governed by laws made by themselves, and by officers of their own electing.*

WHEN the Massachusetts colony completed their system of government, instead of making the laws of England the foundation of their code, they preferred the laws of Moses. They also created a representative body of their own motion in six years after the grant of their charter, which was wholly silent upon so important an institution. And although it gave them no power to judge and determine capital offences, the judicatories they established assumed this act of sovereign authority. In the same manner they supplied a defect of authority to erect judicatories for the probate of wills; to constitute courts with admiralty jurisdiction; to impose taxes on the inhabitants, and to create towns and other bodies corporate.†

IN 1644, the general courts were reduced to two in a year; and except in this, and a few other unimportant circumstances, the government continued the same until the people were deprived of their charter.‡

MOST of the Massachusetts settlers had, while in their native country, lived in communion with the established church. The rigorous severity used to enforce ceremonies, by them deemed unlawful, occasioned their removal to New-England. The

* *Gordon's History of the American War, Vol. I. p. 30.*

† *Minot's Continuation of Hutchinson, p. 20.*

‡ *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 3.*

1635. Massachusetts churches, in general, were formed on the congregational model, and maintained Calvinian doctrines. The colony had no settled plan of church discipline till after the arrival of Mr. Cotton, whose opinion, in civil and sacred concerns, was held in the highest estimation. He gradually modelled all their church administrations, and determined their ecclesiastical constitutions.*

THIS great man earnestly pleaded, “that the government might be considered as a *theocracy*, wherein the Lord was judge, lawgiver, and king; that the laws he gave Israel might be adopted, so far as they were of moral and perpetual equity; that the people might be considered as God’s people, in covenant with him; that none but persons of approved piety and eminent abilities should be chosen rulers; that the clergy should be consulted in all matters of religion; and that the magistrates should have a superintending and coercive power over the churches.”†

IN consequence of the union thus formed between the church and state, on the plan of the *Jewish theocracy*, the ministers were called to sit in council, and give their advice in matters of religion, and cases of conscience, which came before the court, and without them they never proceeded to any act of an ecclesiastical nature. As none were allowed to vote in the election of rulers

* *Prince’s Chronology*, p. 285. *Wood’s New-England’s Prospect*, p. 3.

† *Hutchinson’s Collection of Papers*, p. 162.

but freemen, and freemen must be church mem-^{1635.}
bers; and as none could be admitted into the
church but by the elders, who first examined, and
then propounded them to the brethren for their
vote, the clergy acquired hereby a vast ascendancy
over both rulers and people, and had, in effect, the
keys of the state as well as the church in their
hands. The magistrates; on the other hand, re-
gulated the gathering of the churches, interposed
in the settlement and dismissal of ministers, arbi-
trated in ecclesiastical controversies, and controul-
ed synodical assemblies. This coercive power in
the magistrates was deemed absolutely necessary
to preserve the order of the gospel.*

THE rigorous measures which, agreeably to
these principles, were used to enforce colonial uni-
formity, and the effects they produced, will be re-
lated in a future chapter.

THOUGH the conduct of our ancestors, in the
application of the power of the civil magistrate to
religious concerns, was fraught with error, and
the liberal sentiments of the present age place their
errors in the most conspicuous point of view; their
memory ought ever to be held in veneration.
And while we review the imperfections which, at
present, cast a shade over their characters, we
ought to recollect those virtues, by which they
gave lustre to the age in which they lived, viz.
their ardent love of liberty when tyranny prevailed
in church and state; the fortitude with which they

* *Beiknap, Vol. I. p. 21.*

sacrificed ease and opulence, and encountered complicated hardships in order to enjoy the sacred rights of conscience; their care to lay a foundation for solid learning, and establish wise and useful institutions in their infant state; the immense pains they took in settling and cultivating their lands, and defending the country against the depredations of surrounding Indians; and, above all, their supreme regard for religion. As an eminent author observes, "Religious to some degree of enthusiasm it may be admitted they were, but this can be no peculiar derogation from their character, because it was at that time almost the universal character not only of England, but of Christendom. Had this, however, been otherwise, their enthusiasm, considering the principles, on which it was founded, and the ends, to which it was directed, far from being a reproach, was greatly to their honor. For I believe it will be found universally true, that no great enterprize for the honor and happiness of mankind was ever achieved without a large mixture of that noble infirmity. Whatever imperfections may be justly ascribed to them, which, however, are as few as any mortals have discovered, their judgment in forming their policy was founded on wise and benevolent principles; it was founded on revelation and reason too; it was consistent with the best, greatest and wisest legislators of antiquity."*

* *Adams on the Canon and Feudal Law. Boston Gazette, 1765.*

THE Massachusetts colony rapidly increased. A dreary wilderness in the space of a few years had become a comfortable habitation, furnished with the necessaries and conveniences of life. It is remarkable that previously to this period, all the attempts at settling the northern patent, upon secular views, proved abortive. They were accompanied with such public discouragement as would probably have lost the continent to England, or have permitted only the sharing of it with the other European powers, as in the West-India islands, had not the spirit of religion given rise to an effectual colonization.



CHAPTER III.

Of the settlement of New-Hampshire, and the District of Maine. The plantation and civil government of Connecticut and New-Haven. Of their attention to the promotion of learning and religion. The religious tenets in which the New-England settlers were agreed. The king and council in England prohibit the Puritans from embarking for America.

WHILST religious principles animated the settlers of Plymouth and Massachusetts to encounter hardships in a dreary wilderness, a spirit of enterprize and ambition induced others to attempt settlements in different parts of the new world. As early as 1622, grants of land had been made by the Plymouth council to two of their most active members, viz. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Captain John Mason. The subsequent year they, in conjunction with several English merchants, who stiled themselves “the company of Laconia,” attempted the establishment of a colony and fishery at the river Piscataqua. This was the beginning of the settlement known since by the name of New-Hampshire.*

1629. SEVERAL years after, some of the scattered planters in the Bay of Massachusetts procured a general meeting of the Indians at Squamscot falls,

* *Bilknap, Vol. I. p. 10.*

where they obtained from the Indian sachems 1629. deeds of a tract of land between the rivers Piscataqua and Merrimak.* These lands, at a future period, afforded an asylum for a number of exiles whom persecution had driven from Massachusetts.

IN this, and the two following years, the Plymouth council made several grants of the lands on the river Piscataqua to different proprietors. Discouraged by the difficulties they were obliged to encounter, the major part of the other adventurers either relinquished their design, or sold their shares to Mason and Gorges, who were more sanguine than the rest, and became, either by purchase, or tacit consent of the others, the principal, if not sole, proprietors. These gentlemen renewed their exertions with greater vigor; sent over a fresh supply of servants and materials for carrying on the settlement; and appointed Francis Williams, a gentleman of good sense and discretion, to be their governor.

THE new settlers formed themselves into a body 1634. politic, and entered into a voluntary association for government.†

VOLUNTARY agreements formed a very important title in the ancient jurisprudence of New-England. Wherever the British emigrants settled a colony without the authority of a charter, they founded their police on a contract to which every one agreed.

THE District of Maine was settled by Sir Ferdinando Gorges in nearly the same period with New-

* *Belknap, Vol. 1. p. 8—10.*

† *Ibid, p. 23.*

1634. Hampshire. This gentleman was of an ambitious and enterprising spirit, a firm royalist, and strongly attached to the national church. The adventurers who repaired to this plantation entertained similar opinions, though in the neighborhood of the other colonies, they began to waver in their sentiments. Gorges united with Mason, who was also a royalist and Episcopalian, in an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a general government over the New-England settlements, which were intended to be divided into twelve districts. When he found his plan could not be effected, he solicited and obtained a charter from King Charles I. This patent of the crown to Gorges, is said to have contained more and greater powers than had ever been granted by a sovereign to a subject. It enjoined little else, in particular, than an establishment of the Episcopal religion. Under this delegated authority, Gorges appointed counsellors for the ordering the affairs of the settlement. To perpetuate his reputation, as land proprietor, he gave the plantation of York the name of Gorgiana.

THERE was never any religious persecution in the District of Maine, nor was it considered an object of great importance to establish a regular support for the clergy. The early want of religious instruction proved highly detrimental to the inhabitants of this country.*

THE rapid increase of Massachusetts settlement induced a number from that colony to form the

* Sullivan, p. 78, 79, 237, 307.

design of effecting a new plantation on Connecticut river; the land there situated being celebrated for its luxuriance. The first grant of this country was made by the Plymouth council to the Earl of Warwick, in 1630, and confirmed by his Majesty in council the same year. The succeeding year 1631. the Earl assigned the grant to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and nine others, who reserved it as an asylum for the Puritan emigrants from England.*

SEVERAL families from Roxbury, Dorchester, Cambridge and Watertown, began to remove their families to Connecticut. After a tedious and difficult journey through swamps and rivers, over mountains and rough grounds, which were passed with great difficulty and fatigue, they arrived safely at the places of their respective destination; and commenced the settlement of the towns of Windsor,† Hartford‡ and Weathersfield.§ The Rev. Mr. Hooker, a respectable and pious clergyman, was the leader in this enterprize.

“THE hardships and distresses, of the first planters of Connecticut,” says Dr. Trumbull, “scarcely admit of a description. To carry much provision or furniture through a pathless wilderness was impracticable. Their principal provisions and household furniture were therefore put on board several small vessels, which by reason of delays and the tempestuousness of the season, were either cast away, or did not arrive.” Several vessels were wrecked on the coast of New-England,

* *Morse, Vol. I. p. 465.* † 1635. ‡ 1636. § 1636.

1635. by the violence of the storms. Every resource appeared to fail, and the people were under the dreadful apprehension of perishing by famine." They supported themselves, in this distressing period, with that heroic firmness and magnanimity for which the first settlers of New-England had been so eminently distinguished.*

THE Connecticut planters at first settled under the general government of Massachusetts; but finding themselves without the limits of their patent, and being at full liberty to govern themselves by their own institutions, they formed themselves, by voluntary compact, into a distinct commonwealth.

1639. THE constitution of Connecticut ordained, that there should be annually two general courts, or assemblies; one on the second Thursday in April, and the other on the second Thursday in September; that the first should be the court of election, in which should be annually chosen, at least six magistrates, and all other public officers. It ordained, that a governor should be chosen distinct from the six magistrates, for one year, and until another should be chosen and sworn; and that the governor and magistrates should be sworn to a faithful execution of the laws of the colony, and in cases in which there was no express law established, to be governed by the divine word. Agreeably to the constitution, the choice of these officers was to be made by the whole body of freemen con-

* *Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Vol. I. p. 52.*

vened in general election. It provided that all persons, who had been received as members of the several towns, by a majority of the inhabitants, and had taken the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth, should be admitted freemen of the colony. This was the most material point, in which the constitution of Connecticut differed from that of Massachusetts, which confined the privileges of freemen to the communion of the churches.*

AGREEABLY to the constitution, the freemen convened at Hartford on the second Thursday in April, and elected their officers for the ensuing year. John Haynes, Esq. a gentleman of unblemished integrity, sound judgment and eminent piety, was chosen for the governor of the colony.†

ABOUT the time of the above mentioned emigration from Massachusetts, the frontiers of Connecticut were strengthened by the exertions of the Puritan noblemen Lords Say and Brook. After having obtained a grant, they deputed George Fenwick, Esq. who conducted their affairs, to build a fort near the confluence of the river Connecticut. He called the building Saybrook, in honor of his noble patrons. John Winthrop, jun. Esq. son of the first governor of Massachusetts, assisted him in this undertaking, and was appointed governor. Some of the grantees contemplated transporting their families and effects to this territory; but relinquished their design when affairs

* See original constitution of Connecticut, formed by voluntary compact, in Appendix to Trumbull's History, p 528.

† Trumbull, Vol. I. p. 95, 96. Hutchinson.

began to take a new turn in their native country: After the ardor of emigration ceased, Mr. Fenwick, agent for Lords Brook and Say, was authorised to dispose of their lands, which were purchased in 1644 by the people who had removed from Massachusetts.*

1637. *WHILST* the planters of Connecticut were thus exerting themselves in prosecuting and regulating the affairs of that colony, another was projected and settled at Quinnipiak, afterwards called New-Haven. This year two large ships arrived in the Massachusetts-Bay, with passengers from London and its vicinities. Amongst these passengers were a number of celebrated characters, in particular Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, who had been opulent merchants in London, and were eminent for abilities and integrity, and Mr. John Davenport, a famous clergyman in the city of London, who was distinguished for piety, learning, and the uprightness of his conduct.

THE reputation and opulence of the principal gentlemen of this company, made the people of Massachusetts exceedingly desirous of their settlement in that commonwealth. To effect this purpose great pains were taken by particular persons and towns; and the general court offered them their choice of a place of residence. Influenced, however, by the delightful prospects, which the country afforded, and flattering themselves that by removing to a considerable distance, they

* *Chalmer.*

should be out of the jurisdiction of a general gov- 1637.
ernor, with which the plantations were then threat-
ened, they were determined to settle a distinct col-
ony. In the autumn of this year Mr. Eaton and
others, who were of the company, made a jour-
ney to Connecticut, to explore the lands and har-
bors on the sea coast. They pitched upon Quin-
nipiak for the place of their settlement.

ON the 18th of April they kept their first Sab- 1638.
bath in New-Haven. The people assembled under
a large spreading oak, and Mr. Davenport preach-
ed to them from Matthew iv. 1.

THE New-Haven adventurers were the most
opulent company, which came into New-England,
and they designed to plant a capital colony. They
laid out their town plat in squares, designing it
for a great and elegant city. In the centre was a
large, beautiful square. This was compassed with
others, making nine in the whole.*

THE colony, like Connecticut, formed a gov-
ernment by voluntary agreement, without any
charter or authority from the crown. On the 4th
of July all the free planters assembled at Quinni- 1639.
piak, to lay the foundations of their civil and re-
ligious policy,

THE Rev. Mr. Davenport introduced this im-
portant transaction, by a discourse from Proverbs
ix. 1. His design was to shew, that the church,
or house of God, should be formed of seven pil-
lars, or principal brethren, to whom all the other

* *Trumbull, Vol. I. p. 89, 90, 94.*

1639. members of the church should be added. After this discourse the planters formed a number of resolutions, the fundamental article of which was, that the scriptures hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in their civil and religious duties, as well in families and commonwealth, as in ecclesiastical affairs. Hence the people bound themselves to settle civil government according to the divine word. After full deliberation it was determined,

THAT church members only should be free burgeses; and that they only should chuse magistrates among themselves, to have power of transacting all the public civil affairs of the plantation; of making and repealing laws, dividing inheritances, deciding of differences, and transacting all busines of a similar nature.

THAT civil officers might be chosen, and government proceed according to these resolutions, it was necessary a church should be formed. Without this there could be neither freemen nor magistrates. Mr. Davenport then proceeded to make proposals relative to the formation of a church, and it was resolved to this effect:

THAT twelve men should be chosen, that their fitness for the foundation work might be tried; and that it should be in the power of these twelve men to chuse seven to begin the church.

IT was agreed that if seven men could not be found among the twelve qualified for the foundation work, that such other persons should be taken

into the number, upon trial, as should be judg- 1639.
 ed most suitable. The form of a solemn charge,
 or oath, was drawn up and agreed upon at this
 meeting, to be given to all the freemen.*

FURTHER, it was ordered, that all persons,
 who should be received, as free planters of that
 corporation, should submit to the fundamental
 agreement above related, and in testimony of their
 submission should subscribe their name among the
 freemen. After a proper term of trial, a number
 of the most distinguished characters were chosen
 for the seven pillars of the church.

ON the 25th of October, the court, as it was
 termed, consisting of these seven persons only, con-
 vened, and, after a solemn address to the Supreme
 Being, they proceeded to form the body of free-
 men, and to elect their civil officers.

IN the first place, all former trust, for manag-
 ing the public affairs of the plantation, was de-
 clared to cease, and to be utterly abrogated. Then
 all those who had been admitted to the church af-
 ter the gathering of it, in the choice of the seven
 pillars, and all the members of other approved
 churches, who desired it, and offered themselves,
 were admitted members of the court. A solemn
 charge was then publicly given them, to the same
 effect as the freemen's charge, or oath, which
 they had previously adopted. Mr. Davenport ex-
 pounded several scriptures to them, describing the
 characters of civil magistrates given in the sacred

* *Trumbull, Vol. I. p. 99, 100.*

1639. oracles. To this succeeded the election of officers. Theophilus Eaton, Esq. was chosen the first governor of this colony.

It was decreed by the freemen, that there should be a general court annually in the plantation, on the last week in October. This was ordained a court of election, in which all the officers of the colony were to be chosen. This court determined, that the word of God should be the only rule for ordering the affairs of government in that commonwealth.

THIS was the original, fundamental constitution of the government of New-Haven. All government was vested in the church. The members of the church elected the governor, magistrates, and all other officers. The magistrates, at first, were no more than assistants of the governor; they might not act in any sentence or determination of the court. No deputy-governor was chosen, nor were any laws enacted, except the general resolutions which have been noticed; but as the plantation enlarged, and new towns were settled, recent orders were given; the general court received another form; laws were enacted, and the civil policy of this jurisdiction gradually advanced, in its essential parts, to a near resemblance of the government of Connecticut.*

THE first settlers in New-Haven had all things common; all purchases were made in the name,

* Trumbull, Vol. I. p. 101, 102, 103. See fundamental articles in the original constitution of New-Haven, in Appendix to Trumbull's History, p. 633.

and for the use, of the whole plantation ; and the lands were apportioned out to each family, according to their number and original stock.*

THE colonies of Connecticut and New-Haven from their first settlement rapidly increased. From 1635 to 1640, six towns were settled, viz. Windsor, Hartford and Weathersfield, in Connecticut ; New-Haven, Milford and Stamford, in New-Haven. They subsisted two distinct governments till they were united by one charter.

CONNECTICUT and New-Haven were embarrassed with no political restrictions. They were free settlers under Lord Say's patent, which granted the privilege of purchasing the native right of the Aborigines, and reserved no jurisdiction for the crown, as in the charter of Massachusetts.†

DR. Trumbull observes, " that the fathers of Connecticut, as to politics, were republicans. They rejected with abhorrence the doctrines of the divine right of kings, passive obedience, and non-resistance. With Sidney, Hampden, and other great writers, they believed that all civil power and government was originally in the people. Upon these principles they formed their civil constitutions."

LAWS were enacted, both by Connecticut and New-Haven, prohibiting all purchases of the Indians by private persons or companies, without the consent of their respective general courts.

* *Morse, Vol. 1. p. 409.*

† *Manuscript of the late President Stiles.*

These were to authorise and direct the manner of every purchase.*

FROM their first plantation, schools were instituted by law in every town and parish of Connecticut and New-Haven. Indeed the settlers of New-England, in general, were distinguished by the attention, which they paid to the promotion of learning. They early instituted schools, and made the education of youth an important object.

THIS country was originally designed as an asylum for the Puritan religion; and the planters of both colonies, from their first rise, were assiduously engaged in gathering congregational churches, and settling pastors and church officers. Besides a pastor, a teacher and deacons, ruling elders were established in each church, whose business was to assist the pastor in church government, to pray with the congregation, and expound the scriptures in his absence. In the next succeeding churches, teachers and ruling elders were disused.

THE New-England churches agreed in adopting Calvinian doctrines—in maintaining the power of each particular church to govern itself—the validity of presbyterian ordination, and the expediency of synods on certain great occasions. From their commencement, they used ecclesiastical councils convoked by particular churches for advice, but not for the judicial determination of controversies.†

1637. THE persecution in England still continued, and occasioned such numbers of Puritans to go over

* *Trumbull, Vol. I. p. 296.* † *Mather.*

to New-England, that the king and council, by a proclamation dated April 30, forbade any further emigration. An order was dispatched to detain eight ships lying in the river Thames, which were prepared to sail. Among the passengers on board were Sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hampden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell. Disgusted with the present administration, they had determined to abandon their native country, and seek an asylum in America; but by this impolitic severity they were detained, and were afterwards the cause of the king's ruin, and the overthrow of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Notwithstanding this prohibition (so difficult is it to restrain men whose minds are agitated by fear or hope) great numbers found means to elude the vigilance of government, and transported themselves to Massachusetts. From the same motives, the establishment of the colony of New-Haven was undertaken, and extensive settlements in New-England formed at this period.*

FROM reviewing the above settlements, we are led to admire the wisdom of Divine Providence, in rendering the bigotry and intolerance of the English nation subservient to the planting of flourishing colonies in the new world. By these means, the regions before inhabited by savages, now became peopled by men of piety and information. Hence a scene opened unparalleled in the annals of history. No nation ever enjoyed so much liberty and opportunity of forming civil and religious

* *Chalmer, p. 38.*

establishments, as the first settlers of New-England. The increase of their numbers was rapid beyond example. No other instance can be produced of any other people, who at their first settlement, were so assiduously engaged in promoting useful learning, and in making early improvements in the arts and sciences. It is remarkable, that at this period, when the emigration from England ceased, the settlements were still further extended by similar means, viz. the bigotry and intolerance of the new settlers. This gave rise to the plantations of Providence and Rhode-Island, an account of which will be given in the subsequent chapter.



CHAPTER IV.

Of the intolerant principles of the Massachusetts colony. Banishment of Mr. Roger Williams, and his settlement at Providence. Of the Antinomian dissensions in Massachusetts, and the settlement of Rhode-Island. Of the plantations of Exeter, Hampton and Warwick. The inhabitants of Narraganset-Bay obtain a patent from the crown of England.

THE inhabitants of New-England, who abandoned their native country, and encountered a variety of hardships to avoid persecution, soon discovered a determined resolution to enforce uniformity in religious worship, among all who inhabited their territories. At the first general court which was held in Massachusetts, 1630, a number had been admitted to the privileges of freemen who were not in communion with the churches. But as early as the second general court, after the arrival of the governor and company, they resolved, that in future, none should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as were church members. They soon after concluded, that none but such should share in the administration of civil government, or have a voice in any election. A few years after, they so far for-

1631. got their own sufferings as to persecute those who refused to accede to their religious sentiments.*

MR. Roger Williams, a Puritan clergyman, arrived this year from England at Salem, where he was immediately chosen assistant to Mr. Shelton. The magistrates opposed his settlement, because he refused to join with the church at Boston, unless they would make a public declaration of their repentance for maintaining communion with the church of England while in their native country. This occasioned Mr. Williams' removal to Plymouth, where he was elected assistant to Mr. Smith, in which office he continued between two and three years. Upon a disagreement with some of the most influential characters in this church, and an invitation to Salem, he requested a dismissal, and returned to that town. As Mr. Shelton, the former clergyman, was now deceased, he was chosen to succeed him. The magistrates still opposed his settlement, as they had previously done. They made great objections to his sentiments. He was charged by his opponents with maintaining, "That it is not lawful for a godly man to have communion in family prayer, or in an oath, with such as they judge unregenerate; therefore he refused the oath of fidelity, and taught others to follow his example; that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray; that the magistrate has nothing to do in matters of the first table; that there should be a general and unlim-

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 26, 27.*

ited toleration of all religions, and that to punish 1631.
 a man for following the dictates of his conscience
 was perfecution; that the patent which was granted
 by King Charles was invalid, and an instru-
 ment of injustice which they ought to renounce,
 being injurious to the natives; the king of Eng-
 land having no power to dispose of their lands to
 his own subjects." On account of these senti-
 ments, and for refusing to join in communion with
 the Massachusetts churches, he was, at length,
 banished the colony, as a disturber of the peace of 1636.
 the church and commonwealth.*

WHILST Mr. Williams resided at Plymouth and
 Salem, he cultivated an acquaintance with the In-
 dians in those towns, and learned their language.
 Previously to his leaving the colony, he presented
 a variety of gifts to Canonicus and Osamaquin, two
 Narraganset sachems, and privately treated with
 them for land, with which they assured him he
 should be supplied, provided he would settle in
 their country. This encouraged him, after his
 banishment, to remove with four companions to
 Narraganset-Bay. He first came to Seconk, now
 Rehoboth, and obtained a grant of the land from
 Osamaquin, the chief sachem at Mount-Hope. As
 this grant was within the limits of Plymouth pa-
 tent, Mr. Winslow, the governor, in a friendly
 manner, advised him to remove. He then crossed
 Seconk river, and landed among the Indians, by

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 37. Neal's History of New-England, Vol. I. p. 158.*

1636. whom he was most hospitably received. He nam-
 ed the place of his residence Providence, "in a
 sense of God's merciful providence to him in his
 distress." Strongly impressed with the importance
 of religious liberty, the grand object, which he
 asserts he had in view, was, "to provide a refuge
 for persons destitute for conscience sake."*

THIS small company was soon augmented by
 parties from Massachusetts. The new emigrants
 greatly suffered through fatigue and want. They
 supported their affliction with heroic fortitude, and
 effected a settlement, the government of which was
 founded on the broad basis of universal toleration.

MR. Williams embraced the sentiments of the
 Baptists a few years after his arrival in Providence,
 1639. and was instrumental in forming a church of that
 denomination, which was the first Baptist church
 in New-England. He soon after relinquished
 their opinions, and became a Seeker. But, though
 his strong feelings, and deep researches in the
 mazes of speculation, led him to be wavering and
 undecided in his religious sentiments, yet his con-
 duct exhibited the goodness of his heart, and pu-
 rity of his intentions. He exerted himself to the
 utmost that others might enjoy that freedom of
 opinion which he himself exercised; and uniform-
 ly condemned every kind and degree of persecu-
 tion on account of religion.†

* *Williams' second deed to the settlers, 1661. Plea to the
 Court of Commissioners, 1677.*

† *See letter from Roger Williams to Major Mason, published in
 Collections of the Historical Society for 1792.*

* HE justly claims the honor of being the first legislator in the world, in its latter ages, who effectually provided for and established a free, full and absolute liberty of conscience." 1636.

MR. Williams generously made twelve of his companions equal proprietors with himself, both in the lands given by the sachem, and those he purchased of him. The next settlers of Providence were admitted to be equal sharers in the greater part of his lands for thirty pounds, until the whole number of proprietors amounted, at length, to an hundred.*

THE first form of government established by Mr. Williams and the people of Providence appears to have been a voluntary agreement, that each individual should submit to, and be governed by, the resolutions of the whole body. All public matters were transacted in their town-meetings, and there all private disputes and controversies were heard, adjudged and finished.†

MR. Williams lived in Providence almost half a century,‡ part of which period he enjoyed the authority of chief magistrate. He employed himself continually in acts of kindness to those who had endeavoured to deprive him of the sacred rights of conscience; in affording relief to the distressed, and offering an asylum to the persecuted.§

Soon after the settlement was begun in Providence, the commonwealth of Massachusetts was

* Governor Hopkins' Gazette. † Ibid.

‡ Roger Williams died 1683, aged 84

§ Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 38. Chalmer, p. 270.

1636. disturbed by intestine divisions. The male members of the church in Boston had been accustomed to convene, in order to repeat and debate on the discourses which were delivered on Sundays. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a very extraordinary woman, established a similar meeting for her own sex, founding her practice on Titus ii. 4. Her custom was to repeat passages of Mr. Cotton's sermons, and make her remarks and expositions. These lectures for some time were received with general approbation, and were attended by a numerous audience. At length it appeared, that she distinguished the ministers, and members of churches through the country, a small part of whom she allowed to be under a covenant of grace, and the others under a covenant of works. The whole colony was soon divided into two parties, differing in sentiment, and still more alienated in affection. They stiled each other Antinomians and Legalists. Mrs. Hutchinson was charged with maintaining, that "the Holy-Ghost dwells personally in a justified person; and that sanctification is not an evidence to believers of their justification."*

1637. THE Antinomians exerted themselves to keep in office Sir Henry Vane, who adopted their sentiments, and protected their preachers. On the other hand, the opposite party used every effort to discontinue him, and substitute John Winthrop, Esq. After some difficulty, they succeeded in the election of this gentleman.†

* *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 482.* † *Vol. I. p. 67.*

THE disputes which divided the country were, 1637. according to Dr. Mather, "about the order of things in our union to our Lord Jesus-Christ; the influence of our faith in the application of his righteousness; the use of our sanctification in evidencing our justification; and the consideration of our Lord Jesus-Christ by men yet under the covenant of works; briefly, they were about the points whereupon depend the grounds of our assuredness of blessedness in a better world."*

THOSE religious tenets were disputed with so much warmth, that it was judged advisable to call a synod to give their opinion upon the controverted points. A council was accordingly called to meet at Newtown the 30th of August. This was the first synod appointed in New-England. Ministers, delegates, and also magistrates, under pretence of keeping the peace, were present on this occasion; and as many of the people as chose were permitted to attend the debates. After disputing for three weeks, the synod condemned eighty erroneous opinions, said to have been maintained in the colony. The result was signed by all the members except Mr. Cotton, who, though he declined censuring the whole, expressed his disapprobation of the greater part of these opinions.†

THE general court, at their session the 2d of October, cited the principals of the Antinomian party to appear before them. The court was held in Newtown, since Cambridge, from an appre-

* Mather, B. VII. p. 18. † Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 67.

1637. ^wension that the Antinomians had a large number of partisans in Boston. The Rev. John Wheelright, brother to Mrs. Hutchinson, was first convoked before this assembly. He had been a preacher at Braintree, which was then part of Boston, and was a gentleman of learning, piety and zeal.* He had warmly advocated the new doctrines, and in a late discourse severely censured the magistrates and ministers in the colony. Upon his refusal either to acknowledge his offence, or to go into voluntary exile, the court sentenced him to be disfranchised, and banished the jurisdiction.

MRS. Hutchinson was next cited to her trial before the court, and a large number of the clergy. Her sentence upon record is as follows: "Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of Mr. William Hutchinson, being convented for traducing the clergymen and their ministry in the country, she declared voluntarily her revelations, and that she should be delivered and the court ruined with their posterity; and thereupon was banished, and in the mean time was committed to Mr. Joseph Weld, of Roxbury, until the court should dispose of her." Having received her sentence from the court, she was obliged to undergo a further trial in the church. She was first admonished, and presented to the church a recantation of the errors with which she was charged; yet at the same time professed she never maintained any other sentiments than what were there exhibited. Upon this she was excom.

* Belknap, Vol. I p. 36.

communicated as a liar by the church of Boston, to 1637. which she belonged.*

MRS. Hutchinson, with a large number of the Antinomian party, some of whom had been banished, and others disfranchised, removed from the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts colony. Mr. Roger Williams received and entertained them with the most friendly attention at Providence. His benevolence was ever active, and with the assistance of Sir Henry Vane, he procured for them Aquednock, now Rhode-Island, of the Indian sachems. On the 24th of March they signed a deed, conveying this island to the English. 1638. Though Mr. Williams, and a number of his friends, with the permission of the Narraganset sachems, had been settled at Providence almost two years, the first deed of the place, now extant, is dated the same day with that of Rhode-Island.†

THE exiles from Massachusetts found a comfortable asylum in that country, and soon effected a settlement. They formed themselves into a body politic, and entered into a voluntary association for government,

MR. William Coddington was chosen to be their judge and chief magistrate. This gentleman was one of the most distinguished characters among the exiles. He came over to America in 1630, settled at Boston, and was one of the principal merchants in that town. After his removal to

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I p. 70. See Mrs. Hutchinson's trial in Appendix to Hutchinson's History.*

† *Records in the Secretary's office in Providence.*

1638. Rhode-Island, he embraced the sentiments of the Friends. He appears to have been a warm advocate for liberty of conscience.*

MR. John Clark was another leading character among the settlers of Rhode-Island. In order to enjoy peace and liberty of conscience, he voluntarily abandoned the colony of Massachusetts. He was chosen agent for the newly established plantation, and, after the restoration of King Charles II. was instrumental in procuring a charter.

THE settlement of this island was commenced on the north-easterly side, opposite to Mount-Hope, and was named Portsmouth, from the narrow entrance of the harbor. The same year considerable numbers arrived from Massachusetts. At 1639. the opening of the next year they moved towards the south-western part of the island. There they began a settlement, and, having found another fine harbor, they named the place Newport. The fertility of its lands, its beautiful situation, the convenience of its harbor, and the affluent circumstances of its first inhabitants, conspired to render it more pleasant than the other settlement. It became in a few years the metropolis of the colony. Mr. John Clark, and some others, in 1644, formed a church in this town, on the principles of the Baptists.

THE government established in Rhode-Island was said to be similar to that of Providence. For, though the people chose one chief magistrate, or

* See Codrington's Letter to the Governor of New-England, written in 1674, in Bessee's Sufferings of the Quakers.

governor, and four assistants, yet these appear, 1639. like the deputies in Providence, to have been vested only with some of the executive powers. The chief of the legislative, executive and judiciary powers were exercised by the body of the people in their town-meetings.*

FOUR years after Massachusetts settled Providence, the inhabitants of that colony began a plantation at Patuxet, a place adjoining, and comprehended within their grant. 1640.

THE settlements of Providence and Rhode-Island at different periods received large accessions from the denominations of Baptists and Friends, who were persecuted in the other colonies.

THE settlers of this country emigrated from England with the same views as the other Puritans, and they left Massachusetts to pursue the objects of their removal to America.†

DR. Belknap observes, that “the distinguishing trait in this colony is, that it was settled on a plan of entire religious liberty; men of every denomination being equally protected and countenanced, and enjoying the honors and offices of government.‡

THE intolerance of Massachusetts, which gave rise to the settlement of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, proved the occasion of enlarging New-Hampshire. The Rev. John Wheelright, after his banishment, sought an asylum in that colony. He had previously purchased lands of the

* *Hopkins' Gazette.* † *Callender, p. 90.* ‡ *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 89.*

1638. Indians at Squamscot falls; and with a number of his adherents he now began a plantation, which, according to the agreement made with Mafon's agents, was called Exeter. Having obtained a dismission from the church in Boston, they formed themselves into a church, and judging themselves without the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they associated under a separate government, and chose rulers and assistants, who were sworn to the due discharge of their office, and whom the people were sworn to obey.

ABOUT the same time a number of persons, chiefly from Norfolk, in England, made a settlement in a place which they called Hampton. They began by laying out a township in one hundred and forty-seven shares; and, having formed a church, chose one Stephen Bachelor for their minister, with whom Stephen Dalton was soon after associated. The number of the first inhabitants was fifty-six.*

RELIGIOUS tenets similar to those which caused dissensions in Massachusetts, were, in nearly the same period, taught in Plymouth by one Samuel Gorton, who arrived in Boston in 1636, and from thence removed to Plymouth, where he treated their pastor, Mr. Smith, in such a manner that the authority required him to give bonds for his good behavior. This occasioned his departure to Rhode-Island; where his disrespectful behavior to the court involved him in recent difficulties. From

* *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 37, 39.*

Rhode-Island he removed to Providence; and 1641. was received by Roger Williams, with that humanity, which distinguished his character. Gorton, and a number of his friends, then settled at Patuxet, which excited great uneasiness in some of the inhabitants, who complained to the government of Massachusetts of his conduct, and solicited the protection of that colony. Upon this, he and his associates were cited to appear at the court in Boston. They refused to obey; and alledged that they were out of the jurisdiction, both of Plymouth and Massachusetts. The next step taken by Gorton, and his friends, was the purchasing of Miantinomo, a Narraganset sachem, a tract of land called Shawomet, and removing to that place. 1642. This land was claimed by the government of Plymouth. Two of the Narraganset sachems, who dwelt there, and at Patuxet, came to Boston to complain of Gorton for infringing on their property; and submitted themselves, and their country, to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. This caused him to be again cited to court; and, upon his peremptory refusal to obey the summons, he, and a number of his adherents, were apprehended, conveyed to Boston, and imprisoned. They were 1643. charged with being virulent enemies to religion and civil government. The writings of Gorton and his party were produced as evidences against them.*

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 118, 119, 120, 121.*

1643. GORTON was ordered to be confined to hard labor at Charlestown; and to wear such bolts and irons as might prevent his escape. If he broke his confinement, or endeavoured to make proselytes to his religious sentiments; if he should reproach the churches, or civil government in the colonies, after conviction thereof, upon trial by jury, it was ordained, that he should suffer death.

THE associates of Gorton were confined in different towns, upon similar conditions.

A MESSAGE was sent to Miantinomo, the Narraganset sachem, of whom Gorton and his party had purchased Shawomet, to repair to Boston. He obeyed, but the court refused to admit the justice of his claim to the Indian country.*

1644. AFTER a severe confinement during the winter, Gorton and his friends were banished from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and from the lands they had purchased of the Indian sachem. Gorton's next resource was to repair to England, and, having obtained an order from the British government that he should be suffered to possess the lands he had purchased in Narraganset-Bay, returned and there effected a settlement. The chief town was named Warwick, in honor of his patron the Earl of Warwick.†

1643. THE inhabitants of Narraganset-Bay being destitute of a patent or any legal authority, Mr. Williams went to England as their agent, and,

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 122.* † *Ibid, Vol. I. p. 23. Calendar, p. 43, 44.*

by the assistance of Sir Henry Vane, jun. obtained of the Earl of Warwick (then governor and admiral of all the plantations) and his council, a free and absolute charter of civil incorporation of "Providence Plantations, in Narraganset-Bay." They were empowered to form their own government, and enact laws agreeable to the laws and statutes of England.†

* Hazard's Historical Collections, Vol. I. p. 540.



CHAPTER V.

Of the war with the Pequod Indians. Cambridge college founded. Of the union of New-Hampshire with Massachusetts. The Province of Maine submits to Massachusetts' jurisdiction. Settlement of Martha's Vineyard. The confederation of four of the New-England colonies. The civil war in England puts a stop for the present to the further increase of the plantations. Noble speech of Governor Winthrop.

WHEN our ancestors had, with unconquered perseverance, surmounted the obstacles to their first settlement, they had still an arduous task to secure themselves from the malevolence and jealousy of the natives. They had taken every precaution to avoid a war; and the interposition of Divine Providence was visible in restraining the savages from destroying their infant settlements.

IN the spring of 1630, a great conspiracy was entered into by the Indians from the Narragansets to the eastward, to extirpate the English. The colony of Plymouth was the principal object of this conspiracy. They well knew that if they could effect the destruction of Plymouth, the infant settlement at Massachusetts would fall an easy sacrifice. They laid their plan with much art.

Under color of having some diversion at Plymouth, they intended to fall upon the inhabitants, and thus to effect their design. But their plot was disclosed to the people of Charlestown by John Sagamore, an Indian, who had always been a great friend to the English. The preparations made to prevent any such fatal surprize in future, and the firing of the great guns, so terrified the Indians that they dispersed, relinquished their design, and declared themselves the friends of the English.*

At length, when the colonies had acquired ^{1637.} some degree of strength, they were involved in a war with the Pequods, a powerful Indian tribe, who inhabited the south-east part of Connecticut, and were governed by Saffacus, a prince of an haughty, independent spirit. They had the sagacity to see their own destruction in the progress of the English. Both the English and Indians courted the friendship of the Narragansets with the greatest assiduity. The Pequods urged them to forget their former animosity; and represented that one magnanimous effort would, with facility, and without danger, oblige the strangers to abandon the lands, which they had seized with such avidity. They expressed their apprehensions, that without their friendly assistance both tribes would be destroyed. These cogent reasons had such an effect on the Narraganset Indians, that they began to waver. But as they had recently been engaged in war with the Pequods, the love of revenge, so

* *Morse, Vol. I. p. 322.*

1637. congenial to the savage mind, overpowered all interested motives, and induced them to join the English.*

ACTUATED by the most inveterate hatred to the colonists, the Pequods surprized and killed several of the settlers on Connecticut river. Alarmed at these hostile proceedings, the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut united their forces, in order to carry the war into their country, and attempt the entire destruction of the whole tribe. Troops were accordingly raised in all the colonies, but those of Connecticut, on account of their vicinity to the enemy, were first in motion. Captain Mason, with ninety Englishmen and seventy Indians from Connecticut river, proceeded by water to the Narraganset country, where he was joined by two hundred of that tribe. During the summer of this year the war was conducted with great energy. The Pequods were entrenched in two strong forts, one of which was situated on the banks of the river Mystic. The other, eight miles further, was the head quarters of Sassacus, their sachem. It was determined first to assault Mystic fort. One of the Pequods, who resided with the Narragansets, conducted the army in their march to the destruction of his countrymen. The attack commenced on the morning of the 22d of May. The Indians after a midnight revel were buried in a deep sleep. The barking of a dog discovered the approach of their ene-

* Hubbard's *Narrative of the Indian Wars*, p. 21. Chalmers, p. 290. Trumbull, Vol. I. p. 65.

mies. The battle was warm and bloody; and though the Pequods defended themselves with the spirit of a people contending for their country and existence, yet the English gained a complete victory. The fort was taken; about seventy wigwams were burnt, and five or six hundred Indians perished. Of all who belonged to the fort, seven only escaped, and seven were made prisoners.*

SASSACUS and his warriors at Pequod were filled with consternation at the news of this defeat. They demolished their principal fort, burnt their wigwams, and fled with precipitation to the westward. Captain Stoughton, from Massachusetts, arrived at Saybrook the latter part of June. He with his forces joined Captain Mason, and surrounded a large body of Indians in a swamp near Fairfield. A sachem, with a company of two hundred old men, women and children, came voluntarily and surrendered to the English. Terms of peace were offered to the rest. The Pequod warriors rejected them with disdain, and, upon the renewal of hostilities, fought with obstinate bravery. They were, however, overpowered by the English. Part escaped by the darkness of the night; the rest were killed or taken captive. Sassacus fled to the Mohawks, by whom he was murdered. Many of the Indian captives were sent to Bermudas, and sold as slaves. About seven hundred of the Pequods were destroyed. This successful expedition terrified the remaining In-

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 58, 60, 76, 77, 78. Trumbull, Vol. I. p. 78.*

1637. dians to such a degree, as restrained them from open hostilities nearly forty years.*

THE Pequod war was the most formidable attempt ever made by the Indians to extirpate the English, considering the infant state of the colonies. On this occasion Mr. Roger Williams did New-England essential service. By his great application he made himself master of the Indian language; and his exertions prevented the Narraganset sachems from joining the Pequods.†

1638. THOUGH surrounded with dangers, and embarrassed with a variety of difficulties, yet our ancestors paid great attention to the interests of learning. "They were," says an eminent author, "convinced by their knowledge of human nature, derived from history and their own experience, that nothing could preserve their posterity from the encroachments of tyranny but knowledge diffused generally through the whole body of the people. Their civil and religious principles, therefore, conspired to prompt them to use every measure, and take every precaution in their power to propagate and perpetuate knowledge. They made an early provision by law, that every town consisting of so many families, should be always furnished with a grammar school. They made it a crime for such a town to be destitute of a grammar schoolmaster for a few months, and subjected it to a heavy penalty."‡

* Hubbard, p. 41. † Hopkins' Gazette.

‡ Adams on the Feudal and Canon Law. Boston Gazette, 1765.

IN the year 1636, the general court of Massachusetts contemplated a public school at Newtown; and appropriated four hundred pounds for that object. But Mr. John Harvard, minister of Charlestown, dying two years after, increased this sum by the addition of a great part of his estate, valued at seven or eight hundred pounds. Thus endowed, this school was exalted to a college. Like those of Europe it took the name of its founder; and Newtown was changed to Cambridge, in compliment to the college, and in memory of the place where many of our fathers received their education.*

AFTER the college was erected, a foundation 1639. was laid for a public library; the first furniture of which was the works of Dr. William Ames, the famous professor of divinity at Franear, whose widow and children, after the Doctor's death, transported themselves and their effects to New-England. Several English gentlemen made valuable presents, both of books and mathematical instruments, to this new university. Before the close of the century, the number of books it contained amounted to between three and four thousand volumes.†

THIS year the general court granted the income 1640. of Charlestown ferry as a perpetual revenue to the college; and the same year the Rev. Henry Dunster was appointed president, there having

* *Clark's Letters to a Student in the University of Cambridge*, p. 13.

† *Neal, Vol. I. p. 202.*

been before that time only a preceptor or professor, and an assistant.

1642. ABOUT two years after, the first class finished their literary course, and the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on them. The general court passed an act constituting a board of overseers, "for the well ordering and managing of the said college, consisting of the governor and deputy-governor for the time being, and all the magistrates of the jurisdiction, together with the teaching elders of Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, and the president of the college for the time being."

IN 1650, the college received its first charter from the court, appointing a corporation consisting of seven persons, viz. a president, five fellows and a treasurer, to have perpetual succession by election to their offices. Their style is, "The President and Fellows of Harvard College." To this body were committed all the affairs of the college, and they have the care of all donations and bequests to the institution. After this charter was granted, the board of overseers continued a distinct branch of the government; and these two bodies form the legislature of the college.*

IN the mean time the colony of Massachusetts was increasing; and a number of new townships were formed. In 1637, Dedham was incorporated into a township, and in 1638 a church was there gathered. In 1650, Medfield was made a

* *Morse, Vol. I. p. 416.*

township.* The other colonies were also increasing in riches and population.

IN 1644, South-Hampton, on Long-Island, was, by the advice of the commissioners, taken under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. This town was settled in 1640. The inhabitants of Lynn, in Massachusetts, became so much straitened at home, that, about the year 1639, they contracted with the agent of Lord Sterling, for a tract of land on the west side of Long-Island. They also made a treaty with the Indians, and commenced a settlement; but the Dutch gave them so much trouble, that they were obliged to desert it and remove further eastward. They collected nearly an hundred families, and effected a permanent settlement at South-Hampton. By the advice of the general court of Massachusetts, they entered into a combination among themselves to maintain civil government. A number of them regularly formed themselves into a church state, before they removed to the island, and called Mr. Abraham Pierfon to be their pastor.†

FOUR distinct governments (including one at 1640. Kittery, on the north side of the river) were formed on the several branches of Piscataqua. These being only voluntary associations, and liable to be broken, or subdivided, on the first popular discontent, there could be no safety in their continuance. The most considerate amongst them advised to apply to Massachusetts, and solicit their

* *Dexter's Century Sermon*, 1788. † *Trumbull*, Vol. I. p. 149.

1640. protection. The subsequent year the settlements voluntarily submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of that government, upon condition that they might enjoy all the privileges with the inhabitants of Massachusetts, and have a court of justice erected amongst them. An union having been formed between the settlements on the Piscataqua, and the colony of Massachusetts, their history, for the succeeding forty years, is in a great measure blended.*

1641. AT this period, Sir Ferdinando Gorges incorporated the plantation of Gorgiana into a city, to be governed by a mayor and eight aldermen; his cousin, Thomas Gorges, was appointed mayor of the city, but had no successor in the office.†

THE civil dissensions in England, with the subsequent events, obliged Sir Ferdinando Gorges to relinquish the idea of obtaining a general government over the colonies. He had ever been a firm royalist, and engaged personally in the service of the crown, till his own ruin was involved in that of the royal cause which he espoused. From the commencement of the civil wars, Gorges neglected the concerns of his plantation. The towns in the Province of Maine fell into a state of confusion. Most of the commissioners, who had been appointed to govern the province, deserted it; and the remaining inhabitants were, in 1649, obliged to combine for their own security. The Massachusetts embraced this opportunity to encourage the disposition which prevailed in many of the

* *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 54.* † *Sullivan, p. 238.*

inhabitants, to submit to their jurisdiction. As a ^{1641.} powerful motive to induce them to take this step, they granted them greater privileges, than their own colonists enjoyed, admitting them to be freemen upon taking the oath of allegiance only, and not requiring them to be of the communion of any church. After this province had submitted to Massachusetts, in 1652, it was made a county by the name of Yorkshire, and the towns sent representatives to the general court at Boston. Though the majority were persuaded to consent, yet great opposition was made by some principal persons, who severely reproached Massachusetts for the measures they had taken to reduce the province. The people, however, in general, were contented, and experienced the benefit of the regulation.*

So great was the diligence and industry of the ^{1642.} New-England settlers, that they had already settled fifty towns and villages, erected between thirty and forty churches, and a larger number of parsonage houses. They had built a castle, forts, prisons, &c. and had founded a college, all at their own expence. They had furnished themselves with comfortable dwelling-houses, had laid out gardens, orchards, corn-fields, pastures and meadows, and lived under the regular administration of their own government and laws.

THE population of the country increased with such rapidity, that it was time to take possession of the islands upon the coast. Mr. Mayhew having

* *Belknap's American Biography*, p. 390. *Gordon*, Vol. I, p. 40.

1642. obtained a grant of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and Elizabeth's Isles, settled his son in the former of these islands, with a small number of planters.*
1643. THE New-England colonies were sensible of the advantages of an union, at a very early period. The commissioners from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New-Haven, held both stated and occasional meetings, and kept regular journals of their proceedings, which have acquired the name of the records of the United Colonies of New-England. Rhode-Island was desirous of joining in the confederacy, but Massachusetts, for particular reasons, refused to admit their commissioners.†
1644. THE civil wars, which raged in England at this period, retarded for a time the further increase of the colonies. Though the settlers of New-England were on the parliament side, their situation precluded them from taking an active part. As distant spectators, they beheld their native country involved in the horrors of civil war, while they enjoyed the blessings of peace and plenty in their American asylum.‡
1645. THE affairs of New-England were at this period in so flourishing a situation, that the people were intoxicated with prosperity, and the liberty they enjoyed threatened their ruin. The inhabitants of Hingham, in Suffolk county, having broken the peace, Mr. Winthrop, the deputy-governor of Massachusetts, committed the rioters to prison

* Neal, Vol. I. p. 218, 219. † Hazard's Hist. Collections.

‡ Neal, Vol. I. p. 238.

for refusing to give bond to appear at the quarter ^{1645.} sessions, and to answer for words spoken in defamation of the general court of Massachusetts. This produced a petition from the inhabitants of the town, signed by seven of them, of whom six, being cited to the court, appealed to the English parliament, and offered bail for standing to its award. The members of the general court were sensible that this was a dangerous precedent, and fined and imprisoned the petitioners, whose chief complaints were leveled against the deputy-governor Winthrop. The general court, however, with a true republican spirit, commanded Winthrop to descend from his dignity on the bench, to clear his conduct at the bar. He complied, and made the following speech, which the authors of the Universal History observe, "is equal to any thing of antiquity, whether we consider it as coming from a philosopher or a magistrate."

" GENTLEMEN,

" I WILL not look back to the past proceedings of this court, nor to the persons therein concerned; I am satisfied that I was publicly accused, and that I am now publicly acquitted; but give me leave to say something on the occasion, that may rectify the opinion of the people, from whom these distempers of the state have arisen. The questions, that have troubled the country of late have been about the authority of the magistrate, and the liberty of the people. Magistracy is certainly an appointment of God, and I entreat you to consider

1645. that you chuse your rulers from among yourselves, and that we take an oath to govern you according to God's laws and the laws of our country, to the best of our skill; if we commit errors, not willingly, but for want of ability, you ought to bear with us. Nor would I have you mistake your own liberty. There is a liberty in doing what we list, without regard to law or justice; this liberty is indeed inconsistent with authority; but civil, moral, federal liberty consists in every one's enjoying his property, and having the benefit of the laws of his country; this is what you ought to contend for with the hazard of your lives; but this is very consistent with a due subjection to the civil magistrate, and paying him that respect which his character requires."*

THIS noble speech was of equal benefit to the reputation of Mr. Winthrop, and the peace of the colony. It settled him firmly in the esteem and the affections of the people, and the general court. A severer fine was added to the punishment of the offenders; and, by his well timed condescension, the governor became more powerful than ever. New-England was at this period in a state of perfect tranquility, which was improved for the conversion of the Indians, an account of which will be given in the subsequent chapter.

* *Modern Universal History, Vol. XLX. p. 292, 293. Mather, Book II. p. 12, 13.*



CHAPTER VI.

Of the natives of New-England, and their conversion to Christianity by the Rev. Mr. Eliot. A society is established for propagating the gospel in New-England. The town of Natick built. An Indian church formed. Conversion of the Indians at Martha's Vineyard, and at Plymouth. Number of Indian churches. Of the synod held at Cambridge, and their platform of church discipline. The colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Haven and Rhode-Island, establish a code of laws.

WHEN the European adventurers first settled in New-England, the natives were a wild and savage people. Their mental powers were wholly uncultivated; their passions strong, impetuous and ungoverned; and they were immersed in the thickest gloom of ignorance and superstition.

THEIR religious ideas were extremely weak and confused. They admitted, however, the existence of one Supreme Being, whom they denominated the Great Spirit, the Great Man above, and appeared to have some general, but very obscure ideas of his government, providence, universal power and dominion.

THE immortality of the soul was universally believed among the Indian tribes. Hence it was

their general custom to bury with the dead their bows, arrows, spears, and some venison, which they supposed would be beneficial to them in a future state.*

THEY believed in a number of subordinate deities. Their priests began and dictated their religious worship, and the people joined alternately in a laborious exercise, till they were extremely fatigued, and the priests exhausted even to fainting.† They had neither temples, altars, nor any fixed seasons for devotional exercises.

1646. THE planters of New-England were assiduously engaged in endeavouring their conversion to Christianity. This was one of the obligations of their patent, and one of the professed designs of their settlement. Among those, who exerted themselves with the greatest energy in this work, the Rev. John Eliot, of Roxbury, claims a distinguished rank; and he was stiled the apostle of the American Indians.

IN order to prosecute this benevolent design, he applied himself with persevering diligence to studying the Indian language, and became so complete a master of it, as to publish an Indian grammar. Thus prepared, he began, on the 28th of October, to instruct the natives in the Christian religion at Nonantum, which, at present, is included in the town of Newton. His reception

* *Williams' History of Vermont*, p. 174.

† *Roger Williams' Key to the Language of the Indians of New-England*. See *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* for 1794.

among them encouraged him to hope for success. 1646. The Indians welcomed his arrival, heard him with attention, and asked a variety of questions respecting the important subjects of his discourse.

ACTUATED by a disinterested concern for the salvation of the natives, Mr. Eliot continued indefatigably to labor for their conversion. He frequently preached to the different tribes, and, in order to facilitate his design, endeavoured to civilize their manners, and teach them a more regular method of living. He procured the establishment of schools to instruct them in reading and writing, and supplied them with suitable school books, which he translated into their language.*

IN his ministerial capacity he travelled through all parts of Plymouth and Massachusetts, as far as Cape-Cod. In these fatiguing excursions his life was in continual danger, from the inveterate enmity of the Indian princes and priests, who were bent upon his destruction, and would certainly have subjected him to the most tormenting death, if they had not been awed by the power and strength of the English colonies. However, he received innumerable insults and affronts from the Indian sachems and priests, who had conspired to retard the progress of Christianity.

NOTWITHSTANDING various discouragements, the Christian religion spread both in Massachusetts and Plymouth. The new converts were distinguished by the name of the *praying Indians*. After

* Mather, Book III. p. 196.

1646. they renounced paganism, they abandoned their savage way of living, and imitated the habits and manners of their civilized neighbors.*

1649. In order to encourage the design of converting the Indians, the parliament of England this year passed an act, incorporating a number of persons, by the name of the President and Society for propagating the Gospel in New-England. The affairs of this society were conducted by a president, a treasurer, and fourteen assistants. By authority of this act of Parliament, a collection was made in all the parishes in England, which produced such a sum of money, as enabled the society to purchase an estate in land of between five and six hundred pounds a year. Their first president was Judge Steele, and first treasurer Mr. Henry Ashurst.

UPON the restoration of King Charles II. they solicited and obtained a new charter, which ordained, "that there be forever hereafter, within the kingdom of England, a society or company for propagating the gospel in New-England, and the parts adjacent in America."† The members of this society were not to exceed forty-five. They were made a body corporate, and empowered to appoint commissioners residing in New-England to transact affairs relating to the benevolent design of converting the natives. The new charter substituted a governor for a president, and the

* Mather, p. 197. See Gookins' Historical Collection, p. 170.

† See this charter in the appendix to Birche's Life of Boyle, p. 319, 335.

Honorable Robert Boyle was elected to that 1649.
office.*

IN 1650, the corporation were at the expence of erecting another building near the former college, in order to give the Indians a liberal education. But though a few of them were there educated, yet it was found impracticable to persuade the Indian youth to a love of literature.

THIS year a number of Mr. Eliot's converts 1651.
united and built a town, which they called Natick. Having formed a settlement, they established a civil government upon the scripture plan. The new converts continued several years under the character of catechumens, during which time Mr. Eliot, and some other divines, were indefatigable in instructing them in the principles of Christianity. At length, upon their repeated desires, after a strict examination, they were formed into a regular church. Mr. Eliot was held in the highest veneration by the new converts; they loved him with ardent affection, exerted themselves to serve him, and consulted him as an oracle in all difficult cases.†

MR. Eliot labored with persevering industry to translate the Bible into the Indian language. In the year 1664, he accomplished this arduous work, which does immortal honor to his memory.‡

WHILST Mr. Eliot was employed in converting 1646.
the Indians within the Massachusetts jurisdiction,

* Neal, Vol. I. p. 280.

† Matber, p. 196 See Letters from Mr. Eliot to Mr. Boyle.
See Collections of the Historical Society for 1794.

‡ Goskins' Historical Collection.

1646. Mr. Leverich was promoting the same benevolent design in Plymouth, and Mr. Mayhew in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and Elizabeth's Isles. The first convert to Christianity in Martha's Vineyard was one Hiaccomes, a man of about thirty years of age. His religion exposed him to the contempt of his countrymen, till, in the year 1645, a general sickness prevailed in the island, from which Hiaccomes and his family were exempted. This event induced the Indians to entertain a favorable opinion of the Christian religion. A number of them desired to receive instructions from Hiaccomes. Some time after, the sachem sent for Mr. Mayhew, and requested him, in his own and in his people's names, to teach them the principles of Christianity, in the Indian language. Mr. Mayhew readily complied, and his labors were crowned with great success. He informs us, that numbers of Indian families resorted to him, "desiring that they and their houses might serve the Lord; that eight priests and two hundred and eighty adult persons had embraced the Christian faith."*

MR. Mayhew's method of instructing the natives was similar to Mr. Eliot's. He catechised their children, prayed, preached and sung psalms in their public meetings, and then answered their questions. He pursued his design with unwearied application for ten or fourteen years; till at length intending a short voyage to England, he sailed in

* *Mayhew's Letter to the Corporation, 1651, p. 31.*

1657; but the ship and passengers were both lost. The death of Mr. Mayhew was exceedingly lamented by his Indian converts.*

MR. Mayhew's father, though no clergyman, assisted his son in the execution of his mission. By his influence, within a few years a civil government was established among the new converts. The princes, with their nobles, submitted to the king of England, reserving, as subordinate princes, the privilege of governing their people, according to the laws of God and the king. 1650.

IN 1666, three Indian churches were established. One at Plymouth, another at Nantucket, and one at Martha's Vineyard, under the pastoral care of Hiacommes.†

THE light of the gospel was introduced into Nantucket, and an Indian church established in that island, under the pastoral care of Mr. John Gibbs.‡

THE Rev. Abraham Pierson, and the Rev. James Fitch, preached the gospel to the Connecticut Indians. But neither of these gentlemen met with great success.

MR. Roger Williams was highly venerated and beloved by the Indians, and endeavoured to convert the natives of Providence and Rhode-Island to the Christian religion; but his exertions were, in general, unsuccessful.

MR. Richard Bourne preached the gospel to the Indians at Plymouth, and converted large

* Neal, Vol. I. p. 266. † Ibid. ‡ Gookins' Hist. Collection.

numbers. In the year 1685, the praying Indians in that plantation amounted to fourteen hundred and thirty-nine, besides children under twelve years of age, who were supposed to have been more than three times the number.*

MR. Eliot, in a letter to the Hon. Mr. Boyle, dated 1684, asserts, that the Indians had four stated places for worship in Massachusetts, six in Nantucket, ten in Plymouth, and ten in Martha's Vineyard.

A LETTER of Dr. Increase Mather, to Dr. Leusden, of Utrecht, dated 1687, gives an idea of the progress of the gospel among the Indians for twenty years. In this letter he says, that "there are six churches of baptised Indians in New-England, and twelve assemblies of catechumens. There are twenty-four Indian preachers, and four English ministers, who preach in the Indian language."

DR. Cotton Mather asserts, that in the year 1695, there were three thousand adult Indian converts in the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. That there were three churches in Nantucket, and five constant assemblies. That in Massachusetts alone there were above thirty Indian congregations, and more than three thousand converts; and that their numbers were very considerable in other parts of the country.†

It does not appear that the Christian Indians returned to paganism, but that they gradually

* *Gookins' Historical Collection*, p. 201. † *Mather*, p. 294.

wasted away, till at length they became almost extinct.

THE religious character of the inhabitants of New-England was also exhibited, by their solicitude to establish their churches on what they supposed to be the scripture foundation. In 1648, a synod was convened at Cambridge, for the formation, or rather declaration of their churches' faith, order and discipline. This synod adopted the confession of faith published by the assembly of divines at Westminster, and recommended it to the consideration and acceptance of the New-England churches.

THE principal object of the synod was, to agree upon a model of church discipline. To accomplish this design, they chose the Rev. John Cotton, Richard Mather and Ralph Partridge, three celebrated divines, to form separately a scriptural plan of church government. All these performances were presented to the synod for their revision and correction; and from them the New-England platform of church discipline was collected; and being approved of by the majority of the synod, was recommended to the general court and to the churches.*

THE fundamental article in the platform of church discipline, is, that each particular church has authority from Christ, for exercising government, and enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself. Ecclesiastical councils were to be

* *Mather, Book V. p. 22.*

convoked for advice, on emergent occasions. The platform maintained, that the offices of pastors, teachers and ruling elders were distinct. Pastors were to attend to exhortations, and teachers to doctrine; yet both were to administer ordinances and church censures. Ruling elders were, in a special manner, to assist the pastors and teachers in the discipline of the church.*

IN the next general council in New-England, ten years after, the ministers and churches of Connecticut and New-Haven were present, and united in the form of church government, which it recommended. The churches of New-England, in general, acceded to this platform of church discipline for more than thirty years. This, with the ecclesiastical laws, formed the religious constitution of the colonies.

WHILST the colonies were increasing in numbers and settlements, regular codes of laws were necessary for the advancement, order and happiness of their respective jurisdictions.

IN the year 1642, the capital laws of Connecticut were nearly completed, and put upon record. THE several passages of scripture on which they were founded were particularly noticed in the statute.

AT a general court in New-Haven, the 5th of April, 1643, a considerable progress was made in the laws of that colony. Deputies were sent to

* See the platform of church government, in Mather's *Magnalia*, Book V. p. 23. See an abridgement of the platform in Neal's *History*, Vol. II. Appendix, p. 294.

the general court, and an addition was made to the number of magistrates.*

AT this period, the general assembly of the province of Rhode-Island established a code of laws agreeable to the English statute books, and erected a form of civil government, for the administration of these laws, and for enacting such others as should be found necessary. The supreme power was vested in the people assembled; a court of commissioners, consisting of six persons, chosen by the four towns of Providence, Portsmouth, Newport and Warwick, had a legislative authority. Their acts were to be in force, unless repealed within a limited period, by the vote of the major part of the freemen of the province, to be collected at their respective town-meetings, appointed for that purpose. 1647.

A PRESIDENT and four assistants were annually chosen, to be preservers of the peace, with all civil power. By a special commission, they were judges of the court of trials, assisted by the two wardens or justices of the particular town, in which the court from time to time was convened.

EACH town chose a council of six persons, to conduct their affairs, and their town court had the trial of small cases; but with an appeal to the court of the president and assistants.†

THIS year the colony of Massachusetts first published their code of laws. At the request of the general court, the Rev. John Cotton had com- 1648.

* *Trumbull, Vol. I. p. 121, 182.* † *Callender, p. 42, 45.*

1648. piled a system, founded chiefly on the laws of Moses, which was published in London, 1645. This abstract was considered by the legislative body as the general standard, though they never formally adopted it, and even varied from it in many instances. They professed to follow Moses' plan, so far only as it was of a moral nature, and obligatory on all mankind.*

1649. AT the session of the general court of Connecticut, a code of laws was established, and this colony had the appearance of a well regulated commonwealth. Until this time punishments, in many instances, had been left wholly to the discretion of the court. But from this period, the laws, in general, became fixed, and the punishment of particular crimes was specified, so that delinquents might know what to expect, when they had the temerity to transgress.†

THE celebrated John Winthrop, Esq. died the beginning of this year, aged sixty-three. His death was greatly lamented in Massachusetts, and he was stiled, *the Father of the colony*. He was educated in the profession of the law, in which he was eminent for his abilities and integrity. The high place he held in the public esteem was evinced by his being appointed justice of peace at the early age of eighteen. When a number of influential characters formed the design of removing to New-England, he put himself at the head of the undertaking, and devoted his estate and strength to the

* See Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, p. 161,

† Trumbull, Vol I. p. 82.

public service. The inhabitants of Massachusetts manifested their high sense of his worth, by chusing him eleven times to be their governor. Prudence and justice marked his conduct in that station. He was distinguished for temperance, frugality and economy, and ever exhibited a supreme regard for religion. The only error which has been charged upon his administration resulted from his maintaining the necessity of using coercive measures in religion. However, he finally rose superior to the prejudices of the age in which he lived, and, in his dying moments, feelingly regretted that his conduct had been tinged by the spirit of religious intolerance.*

THE fatal effects, which were produced by enforcing uniformity in religious worship, will be related in the subsequent chapter.

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 151. Neal, Vol. I. p. 294.*



CHAPTER VII.

Of the intolerant principles of the settlers of New-England. Of the separation of the Baptists, and the persecution they suffered. The Quakers begin to resort to Massachusetts colony. Severe laws enacted against them. Four Quakers put to death in Boston. Conduct of the other colonies towards them. King Charles II. puts a stop to the further execution of the sanguinary laws.

IN the preceding chapter we had the satisfaction of seeing our pious ancestors assiduously engaged in converting the Indians to the Christian religion ; in forming a model of church discipline, and establishing a regular code of laws, on what they supposed to be the scripture foundation. We must, at present, contemplate them in a light which strongly exhibits the imperfection of human nature, and the influence of error and prejudice upon the mind,

ACTUATED by the mistaken idea, that it was their duty to use coercive measures to suppress erroneous opinions, the colony of Massachusetts had already manifested a determined resolution to enforce uniformity in religion. They had already proceeded a step farther than the hierarchy in their native country had ever attempted. No test law had as yet taken place in England ; but they had at one blow cut off all but those of their own com,

munion from the privileges of civil offices, however otherwise qualified.* They had banished from their jurisdiction those who were charged with maintaining Antinomian tenets. We shall now see their intolerant sentiments produce farther extremes in conduct.

NOTWITHSTANDING all their precaution to maintain colonial uniformity, they found a number who took the liberty to dissent from their religious opinions. This year some of the inhabitants of Rehoboth adopted the sentiments of the Baptists, withdrew from the established worship, and set up a separate meeting. Upon this Mr. Obadiah Holmes, one of the principal dissenters, was first admonished, and afterwards excommunicated by the Rev. Mr. Newman, minister of Rehoboth. Immediately after, he and two of his associates were cited to appear before the court at Plymouth, where four petitions were lodged against them. One from their native town, signed by thirty-five persons; one from the church at Taunton; another from all the clergymen but two in Plymouth colony; and a fourth from the court at Boston, under their secretary's hand, urging the Plymouth rulers speedily to suppress this growing schism.†

WITH these stimulations to severity, the court of Plymouth charged Holmes and his friends to desist from their separation; and neither to ordain officers, administer the sacraments, or assemble

* *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 80.*

† *Backus' History of the Baptists, Vol. I. p. 213.*

1651. for public worship. They viewed these restrictions as arbitrary violations of their Christian liberty, and alledged, that they were actuated by the conviction of their own consciences, and that it was better to obey God than man.

SOME time after Mr. Clark (who had founded a Baptist church in Rhode-Island) with Mr. Holmes and Mr. Cranfield, travelled into the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. They were all apprehended when assembled for public worship on the Lord's day. The constable took them into custody, and in the afternoon carried them, by compulsion, to the congregational meeting. Mr. Clark had previously assured him, that, if forced to a meeting, which he disapproved, he should be obliged publicly to declare the reasons of his dissent. He pulled off his hat when he entered the assembly, but, after he was seated, he put it on again, and employed himself in reading while the minister was praying. The officers took off his hat, but he positively refused to join in the service. After sermon, he addressed the congregation, and assigned the reasons of his conduct.*

ABOUT a fortnight after, the court of assistants passed the following sentences, viz. that Mr. Clark should pay a fine of twenty pounds, Mr. Holmes of thirty, and Mr. Cranfield of five pounds, or be publicly whipped upon their refusal to pay their fines. The prisoners agreed to refuse, and to receive corporeal punishment. Some of Mr. Clark's

* Neal, Vol. I. p. 299. *Clark's Narrative of the New-England Persecution.*

friends paid his fine without his consent, and Cran- 1651.
 field was released upon his promise to appear again
 at the next court; but the sentence of the law
 was executed on Holmes. Several of his friends
 were spectators; among others John Spurr and
 John Hazell, who, as they were attending him
 back to prison, took him by the hand in the mar-
 ket place, and praised God for his courage and
 constancy. For this offence they were cited be-
 fore the general court the next day, and each of
 them sentenced to pay a fine of forty shillings, or
 be publicly whipped. They refused to pay the
 money; but it was paid by their friends. They
 were then dismissed, and returned to Rhode-
 Island.*

THE following law was enacted against the Bap-
 tists, on this occasion, by the general court of
 Massachusetts:

“ It is ordered by the court and authority
 thereof, that if any person or persons within this
 jurisdiction shall either openly condemn or oppose
 the baptising of infants, or go about secretly to se-
 duce others from the approbation or use thereof,
 or shall purposely depart the congregation at the
 administration of the ordinance, or shall deny the
 ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful right or
 authority to make war, or punish the outward
 breaches of the first table, and shall appear to
 the court wilfully and obstinately to continue
 therein after due means of conviction, every

* *Neal, Vol. I. p. 33. Backus, Vol. I. p. 231.*

1651. such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment.”*

NEITHER this, nor other severe penal laws made against sectaries, could prevent the increase of the Baptist denomination.

AFTER the settlers of New-England had exerted themselves to suppress the Baptists, they exhibited similar intolerant principles in their behavior to the Quakers. The first of this society who came into Massachusetts were Mary Fisher and Anna Austin, who arrived from Barbados the beginning of July. The books, which these women brought over, were burnt by the hangman, and they were committed to prison by the deputy-governor. It is asserted, that they gave rude and contemptuous answers to the questions put to them by the court of assistants; and this is the reason assigned, by the opposite party, for their imprisonment.†

ON the other hand, an historian of their own denomination affirms, that “the deputy-governor committed them to prison, upon no other proof of their being Quakers, than that one of them said *thee* to him; and that their confinement was so rigorous, that no person was permitted to converse with them even through the window.”‡ After about five weeks confinement, one William Chichester, master of a vessel, was bound in a bond of one hundred pounds, to carry them back to Barbados; and the jailer kept their beds and their bible for his fees.

* *Clark's Narrative of the New-England Persecution*, p. 35.

† *Hutchinson*, Vol. 1. p. 169.

‡ *Gouth's History of the Quakers*, Vol. I. p. 345.

A FEW days after the departure of these wo- 1656.
men, eight others of the same profession arrived at
Boston. After some examination, they were sen-
tenced to banishment, and to be detained in prison
till they could be conveyed out of the colony.
They were imprisoned about eleven weeks, the
jailer being empowered to search their boxes for
pen, ink and paper as often as he thought proper,
and take them away. When they were in prison,
a law was enacted to punish them, which was the
first general law against the Quakers.

By this law it was enacted, that if any master
or commander of any ship, bark, &c. should
thenceforth bring into any harbor within their ju-
risdiction any Quakers, he should pay the sum of
one hundred pounds to the treasurer of the coun-
ty, or be imprisoned till the payment should be
made or secured. That any Quaker coming into
the country, should be committed to the house of
correction, severely whipped, constantly kept to
hard labor, and debarred of all intercourse with
any person whatever.*

THIS act, and the banishment of the Quakers, 1657.
proving insufficient, other sanguinary laws were
enacted, as cutting off the ears, and boring the
tongue with an hot iron. Through a mistaken
zeal to extirpate heresy, these cruel laws were, in
various instances, put in execution.†

THE severity, with which this denomination was
treated, appeared rather to invite than to deter

* *Goutb, Vol. I. p. 347.* † *Ibid, p. 372.*

1657. them from flocking to the colony. The persecution exercised against them had a direct tendency to increase their numbers. People first compassionated their sufferings, admired the fortitude with which they endured them; and, from these causes, were induced to examine and embrace their sentiments.

1658. LARGE numbers in Boston, Salem and other places, joined this society. Their rapid increase induced the magistrates to resort to the last extremity, and to enact a law to banish them upon pain of death. Great opposition, however, was made to this law, and it was finally passed by a majority of only one person.*

1659. FOUR Quakers were put to death in Boston, by this unjust and impolitic law. They died with the utmost fortitude, professing the satisfaction and joy they felt in suffering for the cause of truth. They protested, in the most solemn manner, that their return from banishment was by divine direction, to warn the magistrates of their errors, and entreat them to repeal their unjust laws. They denounced the judgment of God upon them for shedding innocent blood, and foretold that others would rise up in their room. Mary Dyer, one of the prisoners, was reprieved at the gallows by the intercession of her son, and conveyed to Rhode-Island. But, to use the words of Gouth, "finding herself under a necessity laid on her from the requirings of the spirit of the Lord to go

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I p. 198. Bishop's New-England judged by the Spirit of the Lord.*

back to Boston, she returned and was executed. 1660.
ed."* ~

THE colony of Plymouth copied after Massachusetts in their treatment of the Quakers, but did not carry their severity to such an extent as to put any of them to death.

THE general court of Connecticut, in October, 1656, passed an act, which prohibited the towns in their jurisdiction from entertaining any Quakers, Ranters, or other heretics, or suffering them to continue in any town above fourteen days, upon the penalty of five pounds per week. Those towns were empowered to imprison such persons till they could conveniently be sent out of their jurisdiction. All masters of vessels were forbidden to land this denomination; and after landing them, were obliged to transport them out of the colony, upon penalty of twenty pounds.

THE court at New-Haven passed a similar law. In 1658, both courts made an addition to this law, increasing the penalties, and prohibiting all conversation of the common people with any of those heretics, and all persons from giving them any entertainment upon the penalty of five pounds. The law, however, was of short continuance, and nothing of importance appears to have been transacted upon it in either of the colonies.†

WHEN the colony of Rhode-Island was applied to, by the four united colonies, in 1656, "to join them in taking effectual methods to suppress

* *Gouth, Vol. I. p. 402. Sewall's History of the Quakers.*

† *Trumbull, p. 314.*

the Quakers, and prevent their pernicious doctrines being spread in the country," the assembly returned for answer, "we shall strictly adhere to the foundation principle on which this colony was first settled."*

1661. THESE unhappy disturbances continued till the friends of the Quakers in England interposed, and obtained an order from King Charles II. requiring that a stop should be put to all capital or corporeal punishment of his subjects, called Quakers. This occasioned a repeal of the cruel laws which had been enacted against them.†

To us, who live in an enlightened age, where the principles of religious toleration are clearly understood, the conduct of the early settlers of New-England must appear truly astonishing; and we may be led to asperse them with unmerited censure. In reviewing the conduct of those, who have appeared on the theatre of life before us, we ought ever to consider the influence which the prevailing prejudices of the age, in which they lived, must naturally have had upon their minds. It was late before the true grounds of liberty of conscience were known by any party of Christians. The bloody persecutions in the annals of Popery, fill the mind with horror; and we find traits of the same intolerant spirit in the conduct of the reformers. The church of England, by enforcing uniformity in religion, had driven the Puritans to seek an asylum in the new world, where, after

* *Gordon, Vol. I. p. 37.* † *Neal, Vol. I. p. 374.*

suffering various hardships, they had established a religious system, to which they were warmly attached. Influenced by the prejudices of education, they considered it as a duty to suppress those religious tenets, which they supposed diametrically opposite to Christianity, and subversive of the peace and happiness of the newly established colonies. The principles they had imbibed appeared to them in a light so important, that they took every precaution to transmit them pure and uncorrupted to the latest posterity.

THE inhabitants of New-England were not, however, distinguished by their intolerance from other American settlers. "Several acts of the Virginia assembly of 1659, 1662, and 1663, had made it penal in the parents to refuse to have their children baptised; had prohibited the unlawful assembling of Quakers; had made it penal for any master of a vessel to bring a Quaker into the state; had ordered those already there, and such as should come thereafter, to be imprisoned till they should abjure the country; provided a milder punishment for their first and second return, but death for the third; had inhibited all persons from suffering their meetings in or near their houses, entertaining them individually, or disposing of books which supported their tenets. If no capital punishment took place here as in New-England, it was not owing to the moderation of the church, or spirit of the legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself; but to historical cir-

cumstances which have not been handed down to us.”* A review of the distressing scenes, which persecution has occasioned, both in Europe and America, ought to inspire our minds with the most lively gratitude to Divine Providence, for the entire liberty of conscience, which is at present enjoyed by each individual state; and which constitutes a distinguished excellence in the federal constitution. As Judge Minot observes, in his ingenious continuation of Hutchinson, “The intellect of man, in its progress in this country, first discovered the absurdity of religious tests, and wiped away this blot upon human reason, whilst the mother country remains, in this respect, in her ancient absurdity.”†

* *Morse's Geography, Vol. I. p. 625.* † *Minot, p. 30.*



CHAPTER VIII.

The colonies congratulate King Charles II. on his restoration. Of the second synod in New-England. Act of uniformity takes place in England. A number of the Dissenters seek an asylum in the colonies. Two of the judges of Charles I. take refuge in New-Haven. Connecticut and New-Haven are united by a charter. Of the charter granted to Rhode-Island. Four commissioners sent to New-England by the King. Persecution of the Baptists revived. The dissenting clergy in England intercede in favor of the Baptists and Quakers.

DURING the frequent changes ^{1661.} in the government of England, for the last twenty years, the colonies acted with great caution and prudence. They acknowledged subjection to parliament, and afterwards to Cromwell, only so far as was necessary to escape their resentment. After Cromwell's death, they avoided joining with any of the prevailing parties, and waited till a permanent settlement could be established. Upon the restoration of King Charles II. the general court of Massachusetts dispatched Simon Bradstreet, Esq. and the Rev. John Norton with a loyal address of congratulation to his majesty, in which they endeavoured to justify the conduct of the colony,

1661. and petitioned for the continuance of their civil
 ~~~~~ and religious liberties.\*

1662. THE reception of the agents was favorable, and  
 ~~~~~ they returned next autumn with the king's answer to the address. His majesty confirmed the charter, and promised to renew it under the great seal. He granted pardon to all his subjects for treasons committed during the late troubles, those only excepted, who were attainted by act of parliament. But he required the general court to review its ordinances, and to repeal such laws, as were repugnant to the royal authority. He also ordered, that the oath of allegiance should be duly administered; that the administration of justice should be performed in his name; that liberty should be granted to all who desired it, to perform their devotions after the manner of the church of England; that all persons of honest lives and conversation should be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the book of common prayer, and their children to baptism; that in the office of governor and assistants the only influential consideration should be the wisdom, virtue and integrity of the persons, without any reference to their distinguishing religious tenets; that all freeholders, not vicious, and of competent estates, should be allowed to vote in the election of officers, civil and military, though of different persuasions respecting church government; and, finally, that this letter should be published.†

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 219.* † *Ibid. Chalmer, p. 255.*

MANY of the requisitions contained in the king's 1662. letter were exceedingly disagreeable to our ancestors. The favors obtained by the agents were depreciated, and their merits were soon obliterated. It was supposed that they had neglected the interest of their country, and made unnecessary concessions. Mr. Norton was so much affected with this treatment, that it occasioned a melancholy habit, which is supposed to have hastened his death.*

AT this session of the general court, the only compliance with the king's orders, except publishing his letter, was giving directions that all writs, processses, &c. should be in his majesty's name. A committee was afterwards appointed to consider the propriety of conforming to the other particulars, and liberty was given to the clergy and the other inhabitants to transmit their opinions.

WHILST the colonies were alarmed with apprehensions for their civil liberties, their churches were agitated by religious controversies. Great debates arose among the clergy, concerning the right of the grand-children of church members to the sacrament of baptism, whose immediate parents had not entered into the communion. This dispute commenced in the colony of Connecticut, and spread with rapidity through New-England.†

IN order to settle the controverted points, the general court in Massachusetts convoked a synod, or general council of all the churches, to be as-

* Mather, Book III. p. 38. † Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 223.

1662. assembled at Boston. The two leading questions referred to their decision were as follows :

1st. Who are the subjects of baptism?

2d. Whether, according to the word of God, there ought to be a confociation of churches; and in what manner should such an union be formed?

IN answer to the first question, the majority of the synod agreed, that the children of good moral parents, who solemnly owned the covenant before the church, though not in full communion, might be admitted to baptism.*

HOWEVER, the council were not unanimous; several learned and pious clergymen protested against the determination relative to baptism. The Rev. Charles Chauncey, president of Harvard college, Mr. Increase Mather, Mr. Mather, of North-Hampton, and others, were warmly in the opposition. President Chauncey wrote a tract against the resolutions respecting baptism, entitled, *Anti-Synodalia*. Mr. Increase Mather also wrote in opposition to the council. Mr. Davenport, and all the ministers in the colony of New-Haven, and numbers in Connecticut, were against the resolutions. Mr. Davenport wrote against them. The churches were more generally opposed to them than the clergy.

THE general court of Connecticut took no notice of the synod, nor of the dispute, but left the elders and churches at liberty to act their own sentiments. They were attempting to form an

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 223.*

union with New-Haven, and as the ministers and churches of that colony were unanimous in their opposition to the synod, they, probably, judged it impolitic, at that time, to decide any thing relative to these ecclesiastical points.*

THE churches, at this period, professed to maintain communion with each other in the following particulars. 1st, In affectionate care, and fervent prayer for each other. 2dly, In affording relief, by communicating their gifts in temporal and spiritual necessities. 3dly, In maintaining unity and peace, by mutually recounting their public actions when requested, in order to strengthen one another in their regular administrations, in particular, by a concurrent testimony against persons justly censured. 4thly, To seek and accept help from, and afford assistance to each other in divisions and contentions, and in their most important concerns; such as ordaining, installing, removing and deposing pastors and teachers; in rectifying mal-administration, healing error and scandal, and deciding difficult questions, both doctrinal and practical. 5thly, In charitably noticing the errors and difficulties of another church, and, when the case manifestly requires it, to administer help, even though they should so far neglect their duty as not to seek assistance. 6thly, In admonishing one another when there is sufficient cause, and after a due course of means patiently to withdraw from a church, or peccant party therein, obstinately persisting in error or scandal.†

* *Arumcull, Vol. 1. p. 325.* † *Mather, Book V. p. 75.*

1662. AT this time the persecution was renewed in England against the Puritans. By an act of uniformity which took place on St. Bartholomew's day, about two thousand clergymen were turned out of their benefices, destitute of the smallest provision for themselves and families. Soon after they were banished at five miles distance from every corporation in England. A number were imprisoned for exercising their ministry contrary to law; several died in confinement, and others sought an asylum in New-England. The learned divine, Dr. John Owen, was shipping his effects for that country, where he was invited to be president of Harvard college. He was, however, prohibited from leaving England by an express order from King Charles II.

MANY of the clergymen who received this ignominious treatment were distinguished by their abilities and zeal, and had labored indefatigably for his majesty's restoration.*

JUST before the restoration of Charles II. generals Whaley and Goffe, two of the judges of Charles I. took refuge in New-England. They were gentlemen of distinguished abilities, and had moved in an exalted sphere. They arrived at Boston in July, 1660, and came to New-Haven the following year, and retired and concealed themselves behind West Mountain, three miles from New-Haven. They soon after removed to Milford, where they lived concealed until October, 1664, when

* *Calamy's Abridgement.*

they returned to New-Haven, and immediately proceeded to Hadley, where they remained concealed for about ten years, in which time Whaley died, and Goffe soon after fled. In 1665, John Dixwell, Esq. another of the king's judges, visited them while at Hadley, and afterwards proceeded to New-Haven, where he lived many years, and was known by the name of John Davids. Here he died, and was interred in the public burying-place, where his grave-stone is standing to this day.*

CONNECTICUT and New-Haven had continued two distinct governments for many years. At length the general court of Connecticut determined to prefer an address and petition to Charles II. professing their submission and loyalty, and soliciting a royal charter. John Winthrop, Esq. who had been elected governor, was appointed to negotiate the affair with the king. He succeeded, and obtained a charter, which constituted the two colonies one united commonwealth, by the name of the Governor and Company of Connecticut. New-Haven for some time declined the union; but at length all difficulties were amicably settled. At this period, the united colonies consisted of eighteen towns.†

By the royal charter every power, legislative, judicial and executive, was vested in the freemen of the corporation, or their delegates, and the col-

* See the late President Stiles' *History of the Judges*, and Morse's *Geography*, Vol. I. p. 458.

† Gordon, Vol. I. p. 34.

ony was under no obligation to communicate the acts of their local legislature to the king. The government, which they had previously exercised, was established, and when the other New-England states renovated their politics, the charter of Connecticut was continued as the basis of their unchanging policy, and remains so to the present day.*

1663. THE royal charter which was granted to Rhode-
 Island and Providence Plantations the subsequent year, was similar to that of Connecticut. They differed, however, in one respect; the charter of Connecticut was silent with regard to religion; by that of Rhode-Island liberty of conscience was granted in its fullest extent.†

By the charter of Rhode-Island, the supreme legislative power was vested in an assembly, the constituent members of which were to consist of the governor, the assistants, and such of the freemen as should be chosen by the people. This assembly was empowered to enact laws, and forms of government and magistracy, provided they were not repugnant to the laws of England. They were to erect such courts of justice as they should see fit, to determine matters within the colony. To regulate the manner of election to places of trust, and of freemen to the assembly. To impose lawful punishments, and grant pardon to such criminals as they should think proper.‡

* See an account of the Constitution of Connecticut, in *Constitutions of the United States*, p. 46. An account of the charter in *Trumbull*, p. 259.

† See *Charter of Rhode Island*. ‡ *Chalmer*, p. 252.

AT this period an act was passed, declaring the 1663.
privileges of the inhabitants of Rhode-Island. "No
freeman shall be imprisoned, judged or condemned
but by the judgment of his peers or laws of the
colony. And no tax shall be levied on any of
his majesty's subjects within the plantation, or up-
on their estates, on any pretence whatever, but
by the act or assent of the general assembly."*

FROM the commencement of the reign of 1665.
Charles II. the general court of Massachusetts en-
tertained alarming apprehensions of being deprived
of their privileges. Their enemies in England
gave exaggerated accounts of every interesting oc-
currence, and the king was prejudiced by their re-
presentations. Notwithstanding all his fair pre-
tensions, the world was convinced, soon after his
restoration; that he designed to reign upon the
same principles, which had brought his father to
the scaffold. His intention with regard to the col-
onies was, to reduce them to the plan of twelve
royal provinces, according to the ideas adopted by
his father in 1635, and to have a viceroy over the
whole. Agreeably to this design he dispatched
commissioners this year, with authority to reduce
the Dutch settlements on the Hudson, to settle
peace, and to establish good government in the
colonies. Colonel Richard Nevils, who was af-
terwards governor of New-York, was joined with
Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel
Marverick in the commission.

* *Providence Court Records.*

1665. THE authority of these commissioners was highly disrelifhed by the colonies, who entertained a ftrong averfion to arbitrary power. The inhabitants of New-England may emphatically be faid to be *born free*. They were fettled originally upon the principle expreffed at this day in all their forms of government, that “all men are born free, equal and independent.”*

WHEN the commissioners arrived in Maffachufetts, their proceedings excited the irritability natural to a people jealous for their liberty; and they fuppofed the powers granted them an infringement of their charter. The general court, however, altered the law that all freemen fhould be church members; and having refolved to bear true allegiance to their fovereign, and adhere to their patent, they agreed upon an addrefs to the king,† in which they profefled their loyalty and fubjection to his majefly, defcribed the difficulties they had encountered in fettling the country; and appealed to Heaven that they were not actuated by interefled motives. They afferted that they had done all to fatisfy his majefly, that they fuppofed confiflent with their duty towards God, and the juft liberties and privileges of their patent. They expreffed a determined refolution to ftruggle for their privileges, which they declared were “far dearer to them than life.” They exhibited the fame firmnefs of mind and refolution in their conduct to the commissioners, who, after much

* Sullivan, p. 285. † Minot, p. 44.

altercation, left the colony dissatisfied and enraged.* 1665.

THE commission was also exceedingly disagreeable to the inhabitants of New-Hampshire, at that time under the government of Massachusetts. When the commissioners arrived in that colony, they flattered a party who were dissatisfied with Massachusetts' government, with being freed from their jurisdiction; and prevailed on them to sign a petition to the king for that purpose. But as the majority of the people exhibited a determined opposition to a separation, the design proved abortive.†

THE commissioners were as unsuccessful in Connecticut as in Massachusetts. They were more favorably received at Plymouth and Rhode-Island. They sat as a court at Providence and Warwick, and spent some time in the colony, examining the purchases and titles of lands from the Indians; hearing the allegations of Gorton and his party against Massachusetts; enquiring into the proceedings of the executive powers of the plantation, and receiving complaints from disaffected persons.‡

WHEN the commissioners arrived in New-England, the former claim under Gorges began to revive. They came into the Province of Maine, and attempted to erect a government. They appointed courts, and commissioned magistrates under the Duke of York, and in the name of the king. This kind of government continued till

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 229, 230, 231.* † *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 106, 107, 108.* ‡ *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 229.*

the year 1668, when some of the principal inhabitants, being greatly oppressed with the tyranny of the commissioners in their support of Gorges' claim, made application to the general court of Massachusetts to take the country again under their protection and jurisdiction.*

1668. WHEN the commissioners had concluded their business, they were recalled by an order from the king. His majesty was highly displeased with the treatment they received from the government of Massachusetts. By a letter to the colony, he ordered them to send over four or five agents, promising to hear all the allegations, that could be made in their behalf, and intimating that he was far from desiring to invade their charter. He commanded that all things should remain, as the commissioners had settled them, till his further orders; and that those persons who had been imprisoned for petitioning or applying to the commissioners, should be released.†

NEITHER the gloomy aspect of their civil affairs, nor their experience of the pernicious tendency of intolerant measures, could deter the colony of Massachusetts from reviving the persecution against the Baptists. This denomination had gathered one church at Swansey, and another at Boston. The general court was very severe in executing the penal laws, in consequence of which many worthy characters were ruined by fines, imprisonment and banishment. Complaints of this

* *Sullivan*, p. 374. † *Hutchinson*, Vol. I. p. 547.

severity were transmitted to England, which induced the dissenting clergy in London to appear, at length, in their favor. A letter was accordingly sent to the governor of Massachusetts, subscribed by Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, Mr. Caryl, and nine other celebrated Puritan ministers. They earnestly requested, that those, who were imprisoned on account of their religious tenets, might be restored to liberty, and that the severe laws might not in future be executed. This excellent letter produced no salutary effect. The prisoners were not released, nor the execution of the penal laws suspended.*

THE Quakers, also, about this time made heavy complaints of the sufferings of their friends in New-England. Though since the king's letter in 1661, none of the penal laws had been executed against them; yet the government treated their itinerant preachers as vagabonds. The chief of the London Quakers obtained a letter, signed by eleven of the most eminent dissenting clergymen, in favor of their brethren. But intolerant principles were so deeply implanted in the inhabitants of New-England, that all efforts to eradicate them at this period proved ineffectual.†

* Neal, Vol. I. p. 373. † Ibid, p. 377.



CHAPTER IX.

Rise and progress of the war with Philip, king of the Wampanoags. The death of Philip puts a period to hostilities. His character. Of the war with the Eastern Indians. Peace ratified with all the Indian tribes. Flourishing state of New-England. Of the third synod in Massachusetts.

SINCE the contest with the Pequod Indians, the terror of the English arms had restrained the natives from hostilities. In the mean time, Providence had smiled upon the New-England settlements, and multiplied their churches. The season was now arrived, in which the colonies were alarmed with the gloomy prospect of being again involved in an Indian war.

1674. IT was the prevailing opinion of the English at this period, that Philip, sachem of the Wampanoags, an artful and aspiring man, partly by intrigue, and partly by example, excited his countrymen to a general combination against them. There is, however, a constant tradition among the posterity of those people, who lived near, and were familiarly conversant with him, and with those of his Indians who survived the war, that he was impelled to hostile measures by his young men, entirely against his own judgment and that of his chief counsellors. Though he had penetra-

tion enough to foresee that the English would, in 1674. time, establish themselves, and extirpate the Indians, yet he thought making war upon them would only hasten the destruction of his own people. When he found it impossible to resist any longer the importunity of his warriors, he used every exertion to render their enterprize effectual; especially by his early endeavours to persuade the other Indians to unite their forces against the colonies. It is said, he dissembled his hostile purposes, and was ready, upon every suspicion of his infidelity, to renew his submission, and testify it even by the delivery of his arms, till he had secretly infused a cruel jealousy into many of the neighboring Indians, which excited them to attempt recovering their country by extirpating the new possessors.*

THE war was precipitated by the revenge which 1675. Philip caused to be taken upon John Sausaman, a praying Indian. He had been educated in the profession of the Christian religion, was some time at college, and employed as a schoolmaster at Natick. At length, upon some misconduct, he fled to Philip, who made him secretary, chief counsellor and confidant. He remained several years with this Indian prince, till Mr. Eliot, who had been his spiritual father, prevailed upon him to return to the Christian Indians at Natick. There he manifested public repentance for his apostacy, became a preacher, and was dispatched

* *Belknap, Vol. I, p. 129. Callender, p. 73, 74.*

1675. upon the Wampanoag mission. Having discovered the Indian conspiracy, he revealed it to the English governor. Not long after, he was murdered by some of Philip's counsellors, while travelling the country. An Indian, who was accidentally on a hill at some distance, saw the murder committed. The murderers were apprehended, and, being tried upon the Indian's testimony, and other circumstances, were convicted and executed.*

THIS event excited the keenest resentment in King Philip, and he determined to be revenged. The Indians resorted to him from various parts, which animated him with fresh courage, and stimulated him to commence hostilities. He first threatened the English at Swansey, then killed some of their cattle, and at length rifled their houses. Irritated by this insult, one of the English discharged his gun, and wounded an Indian. When the governor of Plymouth received intelligence that the war was begun, he dispatched a party for the defence of those parts; and proclaimed a general fast throughout the colony. As the inhabitants of Swansey were returning from public worship, a number of Indians, who lay in ambuscade, fired upon them, killed one of their company, and wounded another. They next intercepted and killed two men, who were sent for a surgeon. The same night they entered the town of Swansey, and murdered six men.

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 285.*

As the war was now inevitable, the governor of Plymouth demanded assistance from the confederated colonies. Massachusetts detached Capt. Prentice, with a troop of horse, and Capt. Henchman, with a company of foot. They were followed by a number of volunteers, under Capt. Moseley. They marched to Swansey, and joined the Plymouth forces, who were commanded by Capt. Cudworth. The Indians, who seldom could be induced to engage the Europeans in their own manner, soon retreated with precipitation; while the English took possession of Mount Hope, and ravaged the adjacent country.

THE Massachusetts forces marched into the Narraganset country, and compelled the inhabitants to renounce their alliance with King Philip, and sign a treaty of peace and amity with the English. They engaged to exert themselves to destroy Philip and his adherents, and deliver up his subjects, who should enter their territories.*

As a reward, they were promised two coats for every living, and one for every dead Wampanoag, and twenty valuable coats for Philip's head.

IN the mean time Capt. Cudworth, with the Plymouth forces, was detached to deter the Pocasset Indians from joining with Philip; but upon his arrival, he found they had already taken an active part. Capt. Church, of Plymouth colony, who published an account of his exploits,† with Capt. Fuller, and two small detachments, ranged

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 289.*

† *See Church's History of Philip's War.*

1675. the woods, in order to engage the enemy. They were overpowered by an army of twenty times their number. Capt. Fuller and his men fled to an house by the water side, which they endeavoured to defend till a sloop from Rhode-Island relieved them from that dangerous situation. Capt. Church, with fifteen men, was surrounded in a pease-field by two hundred Indians. Notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, he fought with invincible courage and resolution. At length he arrived at the water side, and defended himself behind a barricado of stones, till he was removed in a sloop to Rhode-Island, without the loss of one of his men. When he had refreshed his men a few days in the island, he passed over to the continent, and borrowing three files of men from the Massachusetts forces, again engaged the Pocasset Indians, and killed thirteen or fourteen upon the spot. This event terrified them to such a degree, that the remainder retired into the woods, and appeared no more in a body in the open country.*

THE detachment, which was sent against the Pocassetts, joined the army as soon as the treaty with the Narragansets was completed. At that period, information being given by some deserters, that Philip and his men were in a swamp at Pocasset, it was determined to besiege him. The English army resolutely entered the thicket, but when they had advanced a few paces, the Indians fired upon

* Neal, Vol. I. p. 67. Church's History of Philip's War, p. 18, 19, 20.

them from behind the bushes, and at one discharge 1675. killed five, and mortally wounded six or seven of their number. This induced them to turn their attack into a blockade, which they formed with an hundred men, hoping that famine would in that case oblige the Indian prince to surrender.

PHILIP had the address to baffle this attempt. There was a large river, which ran by the side of the thicket, which a party of English, posted on the other side, were to observe. Philip and his men, having cut down some rafts of timber, took advantage of a low tide, and in the night crossed the river without being observed, and escaped into the Nipmuck country.—One hundred of his warriors, however, were made prisoners.*

THE Nipmuck Indians inhabited the inland parts between the sea coasts and Connecticut river, within the jurisdiction of the colony of Massachusetts. The English had in vain endeavoured to detach them from Philip's interest. After they heard of that prince's arrival in their country, they fired upon Capt. Hutchinson, one of the officers sent to negotiate with them. He was mortally wounded, eight of his men killed on the spot, and the rest obliged precipitately to retreat. Philip, who was reinforced, pursued and drove about seventy of them into an house, where they must probably have been taken or burnt, had they not fortunately been relieved by Major Willard, who engaged the Indians with a small party, killed eighty of them, and obliged Philip and his army to retreat.†

* *Mather, Book VII. p. 47.* † *Ibid, p. 48.*

1675. DURING the remainder of the year, this bloody war spread over New-England. The Indians in the several colonies were roused to arms, and their progress through the country was marked with terror and desolation. Philip and his allies conducted the war with energy, in this, and part of the following year. In September, they burnt and destroyed the plantation of Deerfield. Encouraged by this success, they soon after burnt thirty-two houses at Springfield, and, had not their design been discovered, would have massacred all the inhabitants. They also laid the town of Mendon in
 1676. ashes. On the 10th of February, they plundered the town of Lancaster, burnt several houses, and killed and captured forty-two persons.

Soon after they did great mischief in Marlborough, Sudbury and Chelmsford. On the 21st of February, two or three hundred Indians surprized Medfield, burnt half the town, and killed twenty of the inhabitants. Four days after, they burnt seven or eight houses in Weymouth. In the beginning of March they burnt the whole town of Groton. The same month they burnt five houses, and killed five persons in Northampton; surprized part of the town of Plymouth, and murdered two families in the night. They laid the town of Warwick in ashes, burnt forty houses in Rehoboth, and thirty in Providence.*

ON the other hand, large numbers of Indians were destroyed by the colonists. Particularly in

* Hubbard, p. 17.

1675, when Philip and his army retreated into the Narraganset country, the English pursued them, and attacked a fort, which the Indians deemed impregnable. The fort was burnt down, and the fortifications levelled; seven hundred Indian warriors perished in the action, among whom were above twenty of their chief captains. There were also three hundred who died of their wounds, besides a vast number of defenceless old men, women and children, who had repaired to the fort for refuge. The English had six captains and eighty-five men killed; and an hundred and fifty men wounded.*

IN 1676, the affairs of the colonists wore a less gloomy aspect. In May and June, the Indians appeared in arms in various parts of the country, but their energy abated, and their distresses for want of provisions increased. At the same period a war with the Mohawks deranged all their measures. It is reported, that after Philip had in vain urged every motive to induce this nation to commence hostilities with the colonies, he killed a party of their men, and informed their prince, that the English had invaded his lands, and were murdering his subjects. He expected by this artifice to irritate them against the colonies; but one of the Indians, who was left for dead, revived, and escaped to his countrymen, and informed them of the truth. This event exasperated them to the highest degree against Philip, and stimulated them

* Mather, *Book VII. p. 50. Modern Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 305.*

1676. to revenge. They immediately formed an alliance with the English, which was of essential service to their affairs.

AFTER this event the arms of the Connecticut, Massachusetts and Plymouth forces, were, in various instances, crowned with success. No commander performed greater exploits in this war, than Capt. Church, of Plymouth colony. But Philip was the soul of the Indian confederacy. Upon his life or death war or peace depended. The colonies received intelligence, that, after a year's absence, he had returned to Mount Hope, and that large numbers of Indians were repairing to him, with intent to assault the neighboring towns. Massachusetts and Plymouth ordered their forces to pursue Philip. The former returned to Boston, without accomplishing the most important purpose of their expedition; but they had killed and captured an hundred and fifty men, and the Indians were so dispirited, that they were continually arriving and surrendering themselves, upon promise of mercy. Philip was at this time in an extremely melancholy situation. He was obliged to flee for safety from one swamp to another. He had lost his chief counsellors, his uncle and sister; and, at length, his wife and son were taken prisoners. One of his allies, the queen of Pocasset, on being surprized by the English, magnanimously animated her men to hold out to the last extremity; but they meanly deserted her, and she was drowned in endeavouring to escape.*

* *Hubbard. Church.*

SOON after this event, Philip himself was be- 1676.
 trayed by one of his friends and counsellors, whom
 he had exasperated by killing an Indian, who pre-
 sumed to mention to him an expedient for mak-
 ing peace with the colonies. He effected his es-
 cape to Rhode-Island, and discovered where Philip
 was concealed, and the means by which he might
 be surprized. Capt. Church, on receiving this
 intelligence, went with a small party, and found
 him in a swamp near Mount Hope. He attempt-
 ed in vain to escape; one of his men whom he
 had offended, and who had deserted to the Eng-
 lish, shot him through the heart.*

THUS died Philip, sachem of the Wampano-
 ags, an implacable enemy to the English nation.
 He has been represented as "a bold and daring
 prince, having all the pride, fierceness and cruelty
 of a savage in his disposition, with a mixture of deep
 cunning and design."† But that undaunted cour-
 age, energy of mind, and love of country which
 adorned his character, and which have immortalized
 monarchs in the civilized world, have been little
 celebrated in this Indian prince; and we have been
 led to contemplate only his vices, which, destitute
 of the colorings of polished life, appear in their
 native deformity.

ABOUT the same period in which Philip began
 hostilities in Plymouth colony, the eastern Indians
 were insulting the inhabitants of New-Hampshire
 and the Province of Maine. The fraudulent

* Hubbard, p. 71. † Neal.

1675. methods of trading with the natives, and some other injuries, were alledged as the grounds of this war. The Indians for some time dissembled their resentment, but the insurrection at Plymouth inspired them with courage, and they spread distress and desolation in their extensive ravages. To describe the effects of the war in the words of an elegant author, "All the plantations at Piscataqua, with the whole eastern country, were now filled with fear and confusion; business was suspended, and every man was obliged to provide for his own and his family's safety. The only way was to desert their habitations, and retire together within the larger and more convenient houses, which they fortified with a timber wall and flankarts, placing a sentry-box on the roof. Thus the labor of the field was exchanged for the duty of the garrison, and they, who had long lived in peace and security, were upon their guard night and day, subject to continual alarms, and the most fearful apprehensions."*

THE narrow limits of this work will not admit of giving particular accounts of the Indian wars. The autumn of this year was spent in small but irritating assaults and skirmishes, till the end of November, when the number of people killed and taken from Kennebec and Piscataqua amounted to upwards of fifty.

1676. THE subsequent winter, the severity of the season, and the scarcity of their provisions, reduced

* *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 137.*

the Indians to the necessity of suing for peace. 1676.
 By the mediation of Major Waldron, to whom
 they applied, a peace was concluded with the
 whole body of eastern Indians, which continued
 till the next August.

THE renewal of hostilities, induced the Massa-
 chusetts government to send a body of troops to
 the eastward in the beginning of autumn. They
 surprized four hundred Indians, at the house of
 Major Waldron, with whom they had made the
 peace, and whom they considered as their friend
 and father. They were seized and disarmed with-
 out the loss of a man on either side. A separa-
 tion was made, and those Indians who had previ-
 ously joined in concluding a peace were peacea-
 bly dismissed. Two hundred of those who had
 fled from the southward, and taken refuge among
 them, were made prisoners; and being sent to
 Boston, seven or eight of them, who were known
 to have killed several Englishmen, were condemn-
 ed and executed; the rest were transported and
 sold for slaves in foreign parts.*

THE war was continued the remainder of this, 1677.
 and the subsequent year; in which period the In-
 dians ravaged the country, and greatly reduced
 the eastern settlements.†

IN the spring of this year, commissioners were 1678.
 appointed to settle a formal treaty of peace with
 the Indian chiefs, which was done at Casco, whi-
 ther they had brought the remainder of the cap.

* *Beiknap, Vol. I p. 143.* † *Ibid, p. 154—156.*

1678. tives. It was stipulated in the treaty, that the inhabitants should return to their deserted settlements, on condition of paying one peck of corn, annually, for each family, by way of acknowledgment to the Indians for the possession of their lands, and one bushel to Major Pendleton, who was a great proprietor. Thus an end was put to a tedious and distressing war, which had subsisted three years.*

AFTER the ratification of peace, commerce began to flourish, and the population of the country rapidly increased. Several new towns were settled in New-Hampshire and the Province of Maine. Rhode-Island also greatly increased, and the townships of Kingstown,† East-Greenwich‡ and Jamestown,§ were incorporated in that colony.¶

1677. WHILST the New-England forces were in the field, the churches frequently observed days of fasting and prayer, for the success of their arms. After peace was established, a licentiousness of manners prevailed, which was highly alarming to serious and devout people. The general court of Massachusetts convened a synod to examine the state of religion, and prevent the increase of profaneness and impiety. The synod agreed, that there was a general decay of piety, and a prevalence of pride, intemperance, profaneness and other vices. They advised, that in order to promote a reformation, the clergy should be exhorted to bear the strongest testimony against the vices

* *Belknap, Vol. 1. p. 158.* † 1674. ‡ 1677. § 1678.
 ¶ *Providence Colony Records,*

of the age, in their public discourses, and that the magistrates should be vigilant in putting the laws in execution.* 1677.

IN the same synod the platform of church discipline, prepared in the year 1658, was recognized and confirmed by the following vote. "A synod of the churches of the colony of Massachusetts being called to meet at Boston, September, 1679, having read and considered a platform of church discipline agreed upon by the synod assembled at Cambridge, 1658, do unanimously approve of the same platform as to the substance of it, desiring that the churches may continue stedfast in the order of the gospel, according to what is therein declared from the word of God."†

THIS year, the agents of Massachusetts being in England, the general court presented several addresses to the king, and made several laws to remove some of the exceptions which were taken against them by the British government.

* *Mather, Book V. p. 85—91.*

† *Result of the Massachusetts Synod, p. 6.*



CHAPTER X.

The government of New-Hampshire separated from Massachusetts, and made a royal province. Of Cranfield's oppressive government. The colonies are deprived of their charters. Colonel Dudley appointed president of New-England. He is superseded by Sir Edmund Andros, who is appointed governor. His arbitrary proceedings. The revolution in England puts a period to the oppression of the colonies.

WHILST the Indian tribes were endeavouring to extirpate the English, enemies of another kind were using every effort to deprive them of their privileges, by artful and exaggerated accounts of their conduct to the government of England.

1679. NEW-HAMPSHIRE had long subsisted under the government of Massachusetts, and the union was, in general, satisfactory to both colonies. This year a separation took place, by means of one Mr. Mason, who claimed a right to the country, from his grandfather, Capt. John Mason, who had obtained grants of New-Hampshire from the council of New-England. Mason was assisted in his claim by Edward Randolph, his kinsman, a man of great address and penetration, who was resolute and indefatigable in business. This gentleman, by severe invectives, inflamed the prejudices which had

been conceived in England against the colony; 1679: and though agents were dispatched to obviate the effects of his misrepresentations, yet his artful and malevolent attempts were crowned with success.*

ON the 18th of September, a commission passed the great seal for the government of New-Hampshire, which separated this colony from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. A president and council were appointed by the king for the government of the province. The said president and every succeeding one to appoint a deputy to preside in his absence; the president or his deputy, with any five, to be a quorum. They were to meet at Portsmouth in twenty days after the arrival of the commission, and publish it. They were constituted a court of record for the administration of justice, according to the laws of England, so far as circumstances would permit; reserving a right of appeal to the king in council for actions of fifty pounds value. They were empowered to appoint military officers, and take all needful measures for defence against enemies. Liberty of conscience was allowed to all Protestants, those of the church of England to be particularly encouraged. For the support of government they were to continue the present taxes, till an assembly could be convoked, to which end they were, within three months, to issue writs under the province seal, for calling an assembly, to whom the president should recommend passing such laws as should es-

* *Belknap, Vol. 1. p. 165—168.*

1679. establish their allegiance, order and defence, and raising taxes in such a manner as they should see fit. All laws to be approved by the president and council, and to remain in force till the king's pleasure should be known, for which purpose they should be transmitted to England by the first ships. In case of the president's death, his deputy to succeed, and on the death of a counsellor, the remainder to elect another, and send over his name, with the names of two other suitable persons, that the king might appoint one of the three. The king engaged, for himself and successors, to continue the privilege of an assembly, in the same manner and form, unless by inconveniences arising therefrom, he or his heirs should think proper to make an alteration.*

THE ingenious author of the History of New-Hampshire observes, that "the form of government described in this commission, considered abstractedly from the immediate intentions, characters, and connexions of the persons concerned, appears to be of as simple a kind as the nature of a subordinate government and the liberty of the subject can admit. The people, who are the natural and original source of power, had a representation in a body chosen by themselves; and the king was represented by a president and council of his own appointment; each had the right of instructing their representatives, and the king had the superior prerogative of disannulling the acts of

* *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 170—172.*

the whole at his pleasure. The principal blemish in the commission was the right claimed by the king of discontinuing the representation of the people, whenever he should find it inconvenient, after he had solemnly engaged to continue this privilege." 1679.

THE commission was brought to Portsmouth on the 1st of January, by Edward Randolph, whose known enmity to the privileges of the people rendered him a most unwelcome messenger. In order to conciliate the minds of the people to this government, the king nominated for the first council gentlemen of the most distinguished characters, who had sustained the principal offices, civil and military, under the colonial government. These gentlemen received the commission with great reluctance; but the unavoidable necessity of submitting to changes, and the apprehension that upon their refusal to accept the appointment, others would be substituted who were inimical to their country, induced them to qualify themselves to act in their new capacity.* 1680.

THIS change of government gratified the discontented few, but was greatly disrelished by the people in general, as they saw themselves deprived of the privilege of chusing their own rulers, which was still enjoyed by the other colonies of New-England, and as they expected an invasion of their property soon to follow.

A GENERAL assembly was convoked in February, who at their first meeting, on the 16th of

* *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 175.*

1680. March, wrote to the general court at Boston, gratefully acknowledging their obligations to Massachusetts, and their entire satisfaction in their past connexion, asserting, that submission to Divine Providence, and his majesty's commands, alone induced them to comply with the present separation, and desiring that a mutual correspondence might be settled.

THEIR next care was to frame a code of laws, of which the first, conceived in the style becoming freemen, was, "That no act, imposition, law or ordinance, should be made or imposed upon them, but such as should be made by the assembly, and approved by the president and council."*

DURING this administration, affairs were conducted as nearly as possible in the same manner as before the separation. The people kept a jealous watch over their privileges, and every encroachment was withstood to the utmost. Hence the arbitrary proceedings of Randolph, who was appointed collector, surveyor and searcher of the customs throughout New-England, excited universal distrust.†

1682. AFTER Mason was convinced that the new government would not be administered in a manner favorable to his views, on his return to England, he made it his business to solicit a change. He succeeded, and Edward Cranfield, Esq. was appointed lieutenant-governor and commander in chief of New-Hampshire.

* *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 177.* † *Ibid, p. 181.*

IN this commission, which bears date the 9th 1680. of May, the governor was empowered to call, adjourn, prorogue and dissolve general courts; to have a negative voice in all acts of government; to suspend any of the council, when he should see just cause; (and every counsellor so suspended was declared incapable of being elected into the general assembly;) to appoint a deputy-governor, judges, justices, and other officers, by his sole authority, and to execute the powers of vice-admiral.

CRANFIELD arrived and published his commission on the 4th of October. He soon exhibited his arbitrary principles, by removing several influential popular characters from the council, and appointed such as he could render subservient to his purposes.

AFTER this, he convoked an assembly, and dissolved them upon their refusing to accede to his measures. Some time after, he called another assembly, and dissolved them in the same manner. He with his council assumed the whole legislative power. He even ventured to tax the people without their consent. Those, who opposed his arbitrary government, were imprisoned, and treated with rigorous severity.*

AFTER Cranfield had infringed upon the civil rights of the people, he determined to suppress their ecclesiastical privileges. He had attempted to impose the 13th of January as a fast, and restrain them from manual labor at Christmas; but

* *Belknap, Vol I. p. 193—197.*

1634. his capital stroke was to issue an order in council,
 “ that after the 1st of January, the clergy should admit all persons of suitable years, and not vicious, to the Lord’s supper, and their children to baptism; and that if any person should desire baptism or the other sacrament to be administered according to the liturgy of the church of England, it should be done, in pursuance of the king’s command to the colony of Massachusetts; and any minister refusing so to do, should suffer the penalty of the statutes of non-conformity.”

MR. Moody, minister of Portsmouth, was marked out by the governor, as an object of peculiar vengeance. He had for some time rendered himself obnoxious by the freedom and plainness of his pulpit discourses, and his strictness in administering the discipline of the church.

AN instance of church discipline, by which Mr. Moody irritated Cranfield in the highest degree, is thus related by Dr. Belknap. “ Randolph having seized a vessel, she was in the night carried out of the harbor. The owner, who was a member of the church, swore that he knew nothing of it; but upon trial, there appeared strong suspicion that he had perjured himself. He found means to make up the matter with the governor and collector; but Moody, being concerned for the purity of his church, requested of the governor copies of the evidence, that the offender might be called to account in the way of ecclesiastical discipline. Cranfield sternly refused, saying, that

he himself had forgiven him, and that neither the church nor minister should meddle with him; and even threatened Moody in case he should. Not intimidated, Moody consulted the church, and preached a sermon against false swearing. Then the offender, being called to account, was censured, and, at length, brought to a public confession."*

THE act, which had lately passed, afforded Cranfield an opportunity to gratify his resentment. He signified to Mr. Moody, that himself, with Mason and Hinckes, intended to partake of the Lord's supper the next Sunday; requiring him to administer it to them according to the liturgy. Agreeably to their expectation, he refused a compliance. Mr. Moody was then prosecuted, and imprisoned for thirteen weeks. At length he obtained a release, though under a strict charge to preach no more within the province, upon penalty of farther imprisonment. He then accepted an invitation from the first church in Boston, where he was highly esteemed, and continued till 1692. Upon a change of government, he returned to his charge in Portsmouth, where he spent the remainder of his days in usefulness, love and peace.†

AT length, the governor, being disappointed in his plans of enriching himself, and fearing the issue of the people's remonstrances to the court of Great-Britain, privately embarked for Jamaica, and thence to England, where he obtained the collectorship of Barbados. Barefoote, the deputy-governor, succeeded at his departure.

* *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 205.* † *Ibid, p. 209.*

NEW-HAMPSHIRE was not the only colony which felt the oppression of arbitrary power. The people of Massachusetts had long been viewed with a jealous eye. Though the king had repeatedly assured them of his protection, and solemnly confirmed their charter privileges, yet their spirit and principles were so totally dissonant to the corrupt views of the court, that intriguing men found easy access to the royal ear, with complaints against them. Of these, the most inveterate and indefatigable was Randolph, who made no less than eight voyages in nine years across the Atlantic, on this mischievous business. They were accused of extending their jurisdiction beyond the bounds of their patent; of invading the prerogative by coining money; of not allowing appeals to the king from their courts, and of obstructing the execution of the navigation and trade laws. By the king's command agents were sent over, to answer these complaints. They found the prejudice against the colony so strong, that it was in vain to withstand it; and solicited instructions whether to submit to the king's pleasure, or resist his arbitrary designs. After a solemn consultation, the last measure was determined upon, and the agents quitted England.*

1683. SOON after a writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the colony, which Randolph conveyed across the Atlantic. When arrived in Boston, the general court once more considered the critical sit-

* *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 229. Hutch. Collec. of Papers, p. 377.*

uation of affairs. The governor and majority of 1683. the assistants, actuated by the caution of age, resolved to submit to the royal pleasure, and prepared an address for that purpose. The representatives, animated by the principles natural to a republican body, refused their assent.*

THIS year a writ of *scire facias* was presented in 1684. the court of chancery against the governor and company, and judgment given that the charter should be annihilated.†

JUDGE Minot, in his ingenious continuation of Hutchinson's History, observes on this occasion, "thus fell the good old charter, valuable for its defects so happily supplied, as well as its powers. But with it fell not the habits it had engendered, nor the principles which the settlement of the country had inspired. These were for a time slightly hidden in its fall, but soon sprung up again more deeply rooted, and renovated with perennial strength; nor have they ceased to flourish till, in their turn, they have overrun, and probably forever buried, every germ of despotism and royal authority, in this republican soil."‡

THE other colonies, though less obnoxious, shared the same fate. This year, a writ of *quo warranto* 1685. was issued against the colony of Rhode-Island, which was brought in June 26, 1686. The assembly determined not to stand suit. Their reasons were, their poverty and inability to bear the expence of such a lawsuit in England; and

* Chalmer, p. 414. † Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 339.

‡ Minot's Continuation of Hutchinson, p. 52.

1685. the example of those corporations in England, which had surrendered their charters.*

IN July a *quo warranto* was issued against the governor and company of Connecticut. The subsequent year two writs were served by Mr. Randolph, and after them a third in December.

1686. The colony received an offer of being annexed to Massachusetts or New-York. In return, they humbly petitioned his majesty for the continuance of their chartered rights; but if this could not be obtained, they expressed a preference to being annexed to Massachusetts. This submissive language, (which, contrary to their intentions, was construed into a surrender of their charter) probably prevented the *quo warranto*'s being prosecuted with effect.†

KING Charles II. died soon after the colony of Massachusetts was deprived of its charter. Upon the accession of James II. Col. Joseph Dudley, a native of the colony, was promoted, because while agent, he had favored the views of the court. He was appointed president of New-England, and new counsellors were nominated by the king. Their jurisdiction extended over Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Maine, and the Narraganset or King's country. No house of representatives was mentioned in this commission. Dudley was received with less reluctance, from the general apprehension of Col. Kirk, as governor, who had been appointed previously to the death of Charles,

* *Gasleader*, p. 47. † *Trumbull*, Vol. I. p. 390.

and from whom they expected something similar 1686. to the tragedy he had been acting in the west of England.*

THE people suffered little from the loss of their privileges, during Col. Dudley's short administration. Their courts of justice were continued upon their former plan. Trials were by juries as usual. In general, the former laws and established customs were observed, though the government which formed them was dissolved. The intention of these proceedings was, to conciliate the minds of the people to the long meditated introduction of a governor-general.†

AFTER Col. Dudley had enjoyed his new honors eight or nine months, Sir Edmund Andros, who had been governor of New-York, arrived in Boston, with a large commission, appointing him captain general and governor in chief of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, &c. The governor, with four of his council, were empowered to grant lands on such terms, and subject to such quit-rents as should be appointed by the king.

SIR Edmund Andros began his administration with high professions of regard for the public welfare. He soon, however, exhibited his arbitrary character, and enriched himself and his followers by the most daring violations of the rights of the people. Those of his council, who were backward in aiding his rapacious intentions, were neglected.

* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 241.* † *Ibid, p. 242*

Seven being sufficient for a full board, he selected such only as were devoted to him, and would concur with whatever he proposed.*

1687. THE assembly of Connecticut met as usual in October, and the government continued according to charter till the last of the month. About this time Sir Edmund Andros, with his suit, and more than sixty regular troops, came to Hartford, where the assembly were sitting, demanded the charter, and declared the government under it to be dissolved. The assembly were extremely unwilling to surrender the charter, and found expedients to protract the time for bringing it forth. The tradition is, that governor Treat strongly represented the great expence and hardships of the colonists in planting the country; the blood and treasure which they had expended in defending it; the difficulties and dangers he himself had been exposed to for that purpose; and that it was like giving up his life to surrender the patent and privileges so dearly purchased, and long enjoyed. The important affair was debated and kept in suspense till the evening, when the charter was brought and laid upon the table, where the assembly were sitting. By this time great numbers of people were assembled, and men sufficiently bold to execute whatever might be necessary or expedient. The lights were instantly extinguished, and one Capt. Wadsworth, of Hartford, in the most silent and secret manner, carried off the charter, and

* *Belknap, Vol. 1. p. 282.*

secreted it in a large hollow tree, fronting the house of the hon. Samuel Wyllis, then one of the magistrates of the colony. The people appeared peaceable and orderly. The candles were officiously relighted, but the patent was gone, and no discovery could be made of it, or of the person who had conveyed it away. 1687.

SIR Edmund, however, assumed the government, and appointed officers, civil and military, through the colony, according to his pleasure.*

NUMEROUS were the oppressions which the country suffered, during Andros' government. The press was restrained; liberty of conscience infringed; exorbitant fees and taxes were demanded, without the voice or consent of the people, who had no privilege of representation. Those who refused to assist, in collecting illegal taxes, were threatened and imprisoned. The charter being vacated, it was pretended, that all titles to land were annulled. Landholders were obliged to take out patents for their estates, which they had possessed forty or fifty years; and for these patents extravagant fees were extorted, and those who would not submit to this imposition, had writs of intrusion brought against them, and their lands patented to others. To deter the people from consulting about the redress of their grievances, town-meetings were prohibited, except one in the month of May, for the choice of town-officers. The people were told by the judges in open 1688.

* Trumbull, Vol. I. p. 390.

1688. court, that they had no more privileges left them, than not to be sold for slaves; and that the benefit of the laws of England did not follow them to the end of the earth. To prevent complaints being transmitted to England, no person was permitted to go out of the country, without express leave from the governor. But, notwithstanding all the vigilance of the governor, his emissaries and guards, the resolute and indefatigable Dr. Increase Mather, minister of the second church in Boston, and president of the college, sailed to England with complaints in the name of the people, against the governor, which he delivered with his own hand to the king; but finding no hope of redress, he waited the event of the revolution, which was then expected.*

1689. THE country suffered under the oppressive government of Sir Edmund Andros about three years. At length, the report of the prince of Orange's expedition into England reached Boston, and diffused universal joy. The governor took every precaution to conceal the change of affairs from the people. He imprisoned the man who brought a copy of the prince's declaration, and published a proclamation, commanding all persons to be prepared to oppose any invasion from Holland. The former magistrates and influential characters secretly wished, and fervently prayed for the success of the glorious undertaking, and determined quietly to wait the event. The body of the people, how-

* *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 234. Revolution in New-England justified.*

ever, were too impatient to be restrained by prudential considerations. A rumor was spread of an intended massacre in Boston, by the governor's guards, which exasperated them in the highest degree. On the morning of the 18th of April, the town was in arms, and the country flocking in to their assistance. Andros and a number of his accomplices, who had fled for refuge to a fort, were obliged to surrender, and were imprisoned till they could be conveyed to England, to be disposed of according to the king's pleasure.* Under pretence of the charges exhibited against them before the king and council not being signed by the colonial agents, both parties were dismissed, and this tyrant of New-England was afterwards appointed governor of Virginia,†

THE gentlemen who had been magistrates under the charter, with Bradstreet, the late governor, at their head, assumed the name of the council of safety, and kept up a form of government, in the exigency of affairs, till orders arrived from England.

THE revolution at Boston, though extremely pleasing to the people of New-Hampshire, left them in an unsettled state. After waiting in vain for orders from England, they chose deputies, in order to resolve upon some method of government. They, at length, concluded to return to their ancient union with Massachusetts.‡

* *Hist. boston.* Vol. I. p. 373, 374. *Modern Universal History,* Vol. XX. p. 314 † *Mass.* p. 55 ‡ *Belknap,* Vol. I. p. 238.

1689. THIS union, however, was of short continu-
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 ance. In 1692, Samuel Allein, a London mer-  
 chant, obtained a commission for the government  
 of New-Hampshire; and John Usher, his son-in-  
 law, was appointed lieutenant-governor. Mr. Al-  
 lein had, previously, purchased of Mafon's heirs  
 a title to the New-Hampshire lands. This event  
 produced new controversies, concerning the prop-  
 erty of the lands, which embroiled the province  
 several years.\*

THE intelligence of King William and Queen  
 Mary's accession to the throne, occasioned great  
 rejoicing in New-England. The people entertain-  
 ed sanguine expectations, that under their govern-  
 ment, they should obtain the restoration of their  
 former invaluable privileges.

\* See a particular account of these controversies in Belknap's  
*History of New-Hampshire.*



## CHAPTER XI.

*Of the war with the eastern Indians. Treaty concluded with them at fort Pemaquid. The New-England agents solicit the restoration of their charter. A new charter is granted. Connecticut and Rhode-Island resume their former charters. The king compliments the agents with the nomination of their governor. They elect Sir William Phips. Thanksgiving appointed after his arrival in Boston.*

**P**REVIOUSLY to the revolution in government, which was related in the foregoing chapter, a fresh Indian war broke out in the frontiers of New-England, in 1688. As a pretence for commencing hostilities, the Indians charged the English with neglecting to pay the tribute of corn, which had been stipulated by the treaty of 1678; with obstructing the fish in Saco river with seines; with defrauding them in trade, and with granting their lands without their consent.\*

THE French used every effort to inflame their resentment, in order to revenge the recent injuries they had received from the English.

By the treaty of Breda, the territory from Penobscot to Nova-Scotia was ceded to the French, in exchange for the island of St. Christophers. On

\* Belknap, Vol. I. p. 242.

these lands the baron de St. Castine had long resided, as an influential sachem among the Indians, with whom he was intimately connected. The grant which had been made to the duke of York, who at the time of the above mentioned treaty was called James II. comprehended all the land between Kennebec and St. Croix.\*

1688. UPON a dispute arising respecting the landing of a cargo of wine, which the owners supposed to be landed within the French government, a new line was run, which took Castine's plantation into the duke's territory. Upon this pretext, Sir Edmund Andros went in the *Rose* frigate, and plundered Castine's house and fort of all his goods and implements of war. This insult provoked the French sachem to use all his influence with the Indians to excite them to ravage the frontiers of New-England.†

THE first acts of hostility commenced at North-Yarmouth, by killing cattle, and threatening the people. Justice Blackman ordered sixteen of the Indians to be seized, and kept under guard at Falmouth; but others continued robbing and captivating the inhabitants. Upon this, Andros, finding milder measures ineffectual, meant to intimidate them with an army of seven hundred men, which he led into the eastern country in the month of November. The rigor of the season proved fatal to some of his troops, but he never saw an Indian in his whole march, the enemy remaining quiet during the winter.

\* *Hutchinson's Collections*, p. 546. † *Sullivan*, p. 258.



AFTER the revolution, the gentlemen who assumed the government took some precaution to prevent the renewal of hostilities. They sent messengers and presents to several tribes of Indians, who answered them with fair promises; but their prejudices against the English were too inveterate to be allayed by these measures.\*

THIRTEEN years had almost elapsed since the seizure of the four hundred Indians at Coche-co, by Major Waldron, during which time they had cherished an inextinguishable thirst for revenge. Some of those Indians, who were then seized and sold into slavery abroad, had found their way home, and could not rest till they had gratified their resentment.

A CONFEDERACY, for this purpose, was formed between several Indian tribes; and it was determined to surprize the Major and his neighbors, among whom they had all this time been peaceably conversant.†

THERE were five garrisoned houses in the town of Dover. That in which Major Waldron was lodged was surprized by the treachery of Mesandoit, a sagamore, whom he had that night entertained in a friendly manner at his house. During the night the Indians lay in ambush in the neighboring woods. When all was quiet the gates were opened, and the signal given. They entered, surprized the secure garrison, and barbarously murdered the Major. Twenty-three people were

\* *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 244.* † *Ibid, p. 245.*

1689. killed in this surprisal, and twenty-nine were captured; five or six houses, with their mills, were burned, and before the people could be collected from the other parts of the town to oppose them, they fled with their prisoners and plunder. The majority of the prisoners were carried to Canada, and sold to the French.\*

THE necessity of rigorous measures, impelled the colonies to raise forces to check the depredations of their savage enemies. The Massachusetts and Plymouth forces proceeded to the eastward, settled garrisons at convenient places, and had some skirmishes with the natives at Casco-Bay and Blue-Point. The Indians did much mischief by their flying parties, but no important actions were performed on either side during the remainder of the year.

1690. THE greatest danger was at this time apprehended from encouragement given to the Indians by the French, which nation was then at war with England. The inhabitants of New-England were thence induced to plan an enterprize against Canada, where the French had formed extensive settlements. They exerted themselves to the utmost, and equipped an armament in some degree equal to the service.†

THE command of the forces employed in this expedition was committed to Sir William Phips. Unavoidable accidents retarded the arrival of the fleet at Quebec till the season was too far advanced.

\* *Belknap, Vol. 1. p. 245.* † *Ibid, p. 248.*

ed to prosecute their designs. The troops were 1690.  
sickly and discouraged, and, after some ineffectual  
parade, the enterprize was abandoned.\*

THE inhabitants of New-England were greatly  
dispirited by this disappointment. The equipment  
of the fleet and army had occasioned a great ex-  
pence, which they were little able to support; and  
a thousand men perished in the expedition. In this  
melancholy state of the country, it was an happy  
circumstance that the Indians voluntarily came in  
with a flag of truce, and desired a cessation of hos-  
tilities. A conference being held at Sagadahok,  
they brought in ten captives, and settled a truce  
till the 1st of May, which they observed till the 1691.  
9th of June; then, they again commenced, and  
continued their destructive ravages, during this and  
the subsequent year.†

IN January, the Indians entirely destroyed the 1692.  
town of York, killed fifty of the people, and car-  
ried one hundred into captivity. To review the  
cruel treatment they inflicted on their unfortunate  
prisoners, must deeply wound the feelings of eve-  
ry person of sensibility; and they must turn with  
horror from a scene, which so strongly exhibits the  
savage ferocity of which human nature is capable.

THIS year a peace was concluded with the In- 1693.  
dians at the fort of Pemaquid. They acknowledg-  
ed subjection to the crown of England; engaged  
to abandon the French interest; to forbear private  
revenge; to restore all captives; and even went

\* *Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 400, 401.* † *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 263.*



so far as to deliver hostages for the due performance of their engagements.\*

1691. AFTER the revolution in England, the general court of Massachusetts dispatched two of their members, to join with Sir Henry Ashhurst and Mr. Mather, in soliciting the restoration of their ancient charter; and endeavouring to obtain such additional privileges, as might be beneficial to the colony.

WHILST the colony was involved in the Indian war, which has been briefly related, their enemies in England took advantage of their difficulties, by imputing them to the imprudent administration of government, and argued thence against the restoration of their charter. The agents, however, pursued their business with indefatigable application, and used all their interest in court and city to accomplish it; but found all their endeavours to obtain a restoration of their ancient charter ineffectual.†

THE king, from the first application, exhibited a determined resolution to have the nomination of the governor, and other officers, reserved to the crown. He ordered his attorney-general to form the draught of a new charter, according to his pleasure expressed in council. This the attorney-general presented to the council board June 8. It was rejected, and a new draught ordered to be made, by which the people of New-England were deprived of several essential privileges contained in their former charter.‡

\* Sullivan, p. 241. † Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 405. ‡ Mather, Book II. p. 56.

MR. Mather protested against it, but was informed, "that the agents of New-England were not plenipotentiaries from a sovereign state." Notwithstanding this reprimand, the agents drew up their objections, and transmitted them to the king, earnestly requesting that certain clauses might be altered. The queen herself interceded with him in behalf of the colony; but nothing could alter his majesty's determined purpose. The agents succeeded only in procuring a few articles to be added, which they supposed would promote the welfare of their country.\*

THE colony of Massachusetts was made a province, which contained the whole of the old colony. To this were added the colony of New-Plymouth, the Province of Maine, the Province of Nova-Scotia, and all the country between the Province of Maine and Nova-Scotia, as far northward as the river St. Lawrence; also Elizabeth Islands, and the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard.

THE colonies of Rhode-Island and Connecticut were allowed to resume their former charters. As no judgment had been entered against them, the king recognized their policy as regular and legal.†

THE colony of Massachusetts was greatly disappointed by the new charter, and it was considered as a singular hardship, that the effects of the late despotism should be felt by them alone. However, the majority were induced to accept it, from an apprehension of the ill consequences, which might result from their refusal.‡

\* Mather, Book II. p. 56. † Gordon, Vol. I. p. 93. ‡ Neal.

1692. { WHEN the charter had passed the seals, the king was pleased to compliment the New-England agents, for the first time, with the nomination of their governor. After mature consultation, they agreed to elect Sir William Phips, who, with the Rev. Increase Mather, arrived in Boston the 15th of May. The general court appointed a day of solemn thanksgiving for their safe arrival; and for the settlement of the province.\*

THE civil government of New-England sustained a considerable alteration by their new charter. Previously to their obtaining it, all their magistrates and officers of state were chosen annually by their general assembly. In the new charter, the appointment of the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary, and all the officers of the admiralty, was vested in the crown; the power of the militia was wholly in the hands of his majesty's governor, as captain general. All judges, justices and sheriffs, were to be nominated by the governor, with the advice of the council. The governor had a negative upon the choice of counsellors; and upon all laws and elections made by the council and house of representatives. The laws, even when thus sanctioned, were subject to rejection by the king, within the term of three years from their passing. The difference between the *old charter* and *new* also consisted in an express authority for exercising powers, which had been in constant use, from supposed necessary implication.

\* *Mather.*



These were the privilege of a house of represen- 1692.  
 tatives as a branch of the legislature, the levying of  
 taxes, and erecting courts for the trial of capital  
 crimes, and the probate of wills, and granting of  
 administrations on intestate estates, which were ex-  
 pressly given to the governor and council.\*

LIBERTY of conscience, which was not men-  
 tioned in the first charter, was expressly granted  
 in the second. All the various denominations of  
 Christians were tolerated in the colonies after the  
 revolution took place in England. And the peo-  
 ple were informed by the best civilians, that their  
 religious liberties were unalterably secured.

THE first act of the Massachusetts legislature,  
 after the arrival of the charter, was a kind of mag-  
 na charta, asserting and setting forth their general  
 privileges, and contained the following clause :  
 " No aid, tax, tollage, assessment, custom, loan,  
 benevolence, or imposition whatsoever, shall be laid,  
 assessed, imposed, or leveled on any of his majesty's  
 subjects, or their estates, on any pretence what-  
 ever, but by the act and consent of the governor,  
 council and representatives of the people, assem-  
 bled in general court."†

OTHER acts favorable to liberty, were passed  
 by the general court, at this session.

AT the time when the colony of Massachusetts  
 received the new charter, seventy-two years had  
 elapsed since the first settlement at Plymouth.

\* See Charter of William and Mary, in Appendix to Neal's His-  
 tory. Minor's Continuation of Hutchinson, p. 57.

† Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 63.

1692. During this period the colonies enjoyed the privilege of chusing their own rulers, and enacting their own laws. They had established excellent regulations for the promotion of learning and religion. They had exhibited great courage in the Indian wars, and their efforts to repel their savage enemies were crowned with success. “After forty years from the first settlement, the greatest part of the early emigrants had terminated their earthly existence.”\* They had, however, the satisfaction of surviving till they beheld the fruits of their assiduous labors in the increase of the settlements and multiplication of the churches. “In 1643, the first twenty thousand souls, who came over from England, had settled thirty-six churches. In 1650, there were forty churches in New-England, which contained seven thousand seven hundred and fifty communicants.”† Many of the clergymen, who came from England at the first settlement, were not only distinguished for their piety, but for their abilities and learning. Among whom we view a *Cotton, Hooker, Davenport, Eliot*, and others, who illuminated the churches of New-England. And though many have depreciated the merit of our ancestors, yet a modern British author has observed, that, “The victories they obtained over the complicated obstructions which they met with upon their arrival in America, have raised their character to a level with that of the

\* *Hutchinson, Vol. I p. 258.* † *Late President Stiles' Manuscript Lectures on Ecclesiastical History.*

bravest people recorded in history, in the estimation of the few, who can consider facts divested of that splendor which time, place and circumstances are apt to bestow upon them, and from which they derive their lustre with the generality of mankind."\*

\* *Andrews' History of the War with America.*





## CHAPTER XII.

*Of the supposed witchcrafts in New-England. Sir William Phips recalled. His death and character. War with the Indians renewed. The French project an invasion of New-England. Peace concluded with the Indians. The Earl of Bellamont appointed governor of the plantations of New-York, Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.*

**N**EW-ENGLAND from its first settlement never experienced such complicated difficulties as at the commencement of Sir William Phips' government. The country was involved in the war with the eastern Indians, which has been briefly mentioned in the preceding chapter. In 1692. the same period a new species of distress filled the minds of the people with gloom and horror, which in some respects appeared more replete with calamity, than even the devastations of war.

PREVIOUSLY to the tragic scene at Salem, about to be related, several persons, in different parts of New-England, had been executed for the supposed crime of witchcraft. Those, who think the whole to be an imposture, account for it by the prevailing credulity of the age; the strength of prejudice; the force of imagination, operating on minds not sufficiently enlightened by reason and philosophy, which all conspired to produce this fatal delusion.

IN the year 1692, a daughter and niece of Mr. Parris, minister of Salem, girls of ten or eleven years of age, and two other girls in the neighborhood, were seized with uncommon and unaccountable complaints. A consultation of physicians was called, one of whom was of opinion that they were bewitched. An Indian woman, who was brought from New-Spain, and then resided with Mr. Parris, had recourse to some experiments, which she pretended were used in her own country, in order to discover the witch. The children, being informed of this circumstance, accused the Indian woman of pinching, pricking and tormenting them in various ways. She acknowledged that she had learnt how to discover a witch, but denied herself to be one. This first instance was the occasion of several private fasts at Mr. Parris' house, of several others, which were observed by the whole village, and of a general fast through the colony. The attention, paid to the children, with the compassion, expressed by their visitors, it is supposed, induced them, and allured others to continue their imposture. Hence the number of complainants, who pretended to be seized with similar disorders, increased, and they accused certain persons of being the authors of their sufferings. From these small beginnings, the distemper spread through several parts of the province, till the prisons were scarcely capable of containing the number of the accused.\*

\* *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 25—29. Hall's Modest Inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft, p. 22.*

1692. THE most effectual method to prevent an accusation was, to become an accuser; hence the number of the afflicted continually augmented, and the number of the accused increased in the same proportion.

THE accused in general persisted in asserting their innocence. Some, however, were induced to confess their guilt, being warmly importuned by their friends to embrace this expedient, as the only possible way to save their lives. The confession of witchcraft increased the number of the suspected; for associates were always pretended by the party confessing. These pretended associates were immediately sent for and examined. By these means, more than an hundred women, many of them of fair characters, and of the most respectable families in Salem, Beverly, Andover, Billerica, and in other towns, were apprehended, examined, and generally committed to prison.\*

THOUGH the number of prisoners had been augmenting, from February to June, yet none of them had as yet been brought to trial. Soon after the arrival of the charter, commissioners of *oyer* and *terminer* were appointed for this purpose. At the first trial, there was no colony, nor provincial law in force against witchcraft. The statute of James I. must therefore have been considered as in force, in the province, witchcraft not being an offence at common law. Before the adjournment of the general court, the old colony law,

\* *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 30. Hale, p. 26.*



which makes witchcraft a capital offence, was received and adopted by the whole province. 1692.

IN this distressing period, nineteen persons were executed, **one** prest to death, and eight more condemned; the whole number amounted to twenty-eight, of whom above a third part were members of some of the churches in New-England, and more than half sustained excellent characters. Among those, who were executed, was Mr. Burroughs, formerly minister at Salem, who left his people upon some difference in religious sentiments. All who suffered death asserted their innocence in the strongest terms. Yet this circumstance was insufficient to open the eyes of the people; and their fury augmented in proportion as the gloom of imagination increased.\*

INSTEAD of acting with that deliberate coolness and caution, which the importance of the affair demanded, and suspecting and cross examining the witnesses, by whose evidence the pretended witches were condemned; the authority made use of leading questions, which helped them to answers. Most of the examinations, though in the presence of one or more of the magistrates, were taken by Mr. Parris. The court allowed the witnesses to relate accidents, which had befallen them twenty or thirty years past, upon some difference with the accused.†

\* See Dr. Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*.

† Neal, Vol. II. p. 129; and Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 185.

1692. THE affairs of Massachusetts were now in such a wretched situation, that no man was sure of his life and fortune for an hour. An universal consternation prevailed. Some charged themselves with witchcraft, in order to prevent accusation, and escape death; some abandoned the province, and others were preparing to follow their example.\*

IN this scene of perplexity and distress, those, who were accused of witchcraft, were generally of the lowest order in society. A number, however, of respectable women still remained in prison: at length the pretended sufferers had the audacity to accuse several persons of superior rank and character. The authority then began to be less credulous. The prisoners were liberated; those, who had received sentence of death, were reprieved, and afterwards pardoned. The whole country became by degrees sensible of their mistake; and the majority of the actors in this tragedy declared their repentance for their conduct.

1693. WHILST a review of the conduct of the inhabitants of New-England in this distressing period induces us to accuse them of credulity and superstition, we ought to soften the asperity of our censure by remembering, that, supposing the whole to have been an imposture, they were led into this delusion by the opinion of the greatest civilians and divines in Europe. A similar opinion respecting witchcraft was at the same time prevalent in Great-

\* *Hale, p. 33. Calef.*

Britain; the law, by which witches were condemn- 1693.  
 ed, was copied from the English statutes, and the  
 practice of courts in New-England, was regulated  
 by precedents established in the parent country.  
 These statutes continued in force in England some  
 time in the reign of George II. when it was enact-  
 ed, "That no prosecution should in future be car-  
 ried on against any person for conjuration, witch-  
 craft, forcery, or enchantment."\*

No public notice was taken of the authors of  
 this calamity; some of the supposed sufferers be-  
 came profligate characters; others passed their  
 days in obscurity and contempt. Mr. Parris, in  
 whose house the pretended witchcraft began, felt  
 the effects of popular resentment. Though he  
 made a public and private penitent acknowledg-  
 ment of his error, his congregation insisted upon  
 his dismissal, declaring that they never would sit  
 under the ministry of a man, who had been the in-  
 strument of such complicated distresses.†

THUS, in about fifteen months, ended an affair,  
 which not only confounded the minds of the peo-  
 ple of New-England, but filled Europe with aston-  
 ishment and horror.

THE treaty, which was concluded with the In- 1694.  
 dians at fort Pemaquid, had, for almost a twelve-  
 month, relieved the frontiers from the calamities of  
 war. Whilst the peace continued, Sir William  
 Phips exerted himself to the utmost to detach  
 them from the French interest. For this purpose

\* *Hutchinson, Vol. II. Cases, p. 133.*

† *Blackstone, Vol. IV, p. 61.*



1694. he took a journey to the eastward; presented gifts to their sachems; opened a free trade with them; and offered to leave a preacher, acquainted with the Indian language, to instruct them in the Protestant religion.

ON the other hand, the French labored more successfully to prejudice their minds against the English. This year the Sieur de Villien was in command at Penobscot, and with the assistance of Thury, the religious missionary, persuaded the eastern sachems to break their treaty, and to prepare for hostilities.\*

WHILST the war with the Indians was impending, the people became dissatisfied with Sir William Phips' government, and ascribed the calamities they suffered to his misconduct. The uneasiness arose to such a degree, that his enemies drew up articles of impeachment against him, which they transmitted to the king and council. His Majesty declared he would himself hear his cause; and cited Sir William and his accusers to repair to Whitehall. He embarked for England, November 17, having obtained a recommendation from the general assembly. Previously to the hearing of his cause, he was suddenly seized with a malignant fever, which put a period to his life, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.†

SIR William Phips was born of poor and obscure parents in the eastern parts of New-England.

\* *Mather, Book II. p. 66.* † *Ibid, p. 71.*

His education furnished him with few advantages <sup>1694.</sup> for improvement. His first employment was keeping sheep; he was afterwards a ship carpenter; but he gave up his trade, and followed the seas. After several small adventures, he amassed a considerable fortune, by finding a Spanish wreck near Port de la Plata. This event introduced him to men of rank and fortune; and he had the dignity of knighthood conferred upon him by king James II. Notwithstanding this, he uniformly opposed the arbitrary measures of that monarch; and was an ardent friend to the revolution. Though unversed in the arts of government, and destitute of deep penetration, yet he was a man of great industry, enterprize and firmness. He constantly attended the exercises of devotion; and was studious to promote piety and virtue in others.\*

AFTER Sir William Phips left the province, the authority devolved upon lieutenant-governor Stoughton. Previously to his entering on his administration, the country was again involved in the calamities of war. The French had recently supplied the Indians with a variety of warlike stores. At length, the necessary preparations being made, Villien, with a body of two hundred and fifty Indians, collected from the tribes of St. John, Penobscot and Norridgewog, marched against the people on Oyster River, in New-Hampshire. Here they killed and captured between ninety

\* *Matber, Book II. p. 68. Life of Sir William Phips.*

1694. and an hundred persons, and burned above twenty houses, of which five were garrisons.\*

DURING the remainder of this, and the subsequent winter, the Indians continued to ravage the frontiers. In 1696, they, in conjunction with the French, took and demolished Pemaquid fort; and, exulting in their success, threatened to involve the country in ruin and desolation.†

1697. THIS year an invasion of the country was projected by the French. A fleet was to sail from France to Newfoundland, and thence to Penobscot, where, being joined by an army from Canada, an attempt was to be made on Boston, and the sea coast ravaged from there to Piscataqua. The fleet proceeded no further than Newfoundland, when the advanced season, and scantiness of provision, obliged them to relinquish the design. The people of New-England were apprized of the danger, and made the best possible preparations to avert the impending evil. They strengthened their fortifications on the coast, and raised a body of men to defend the frontiers against the Indians, who were expected to co-operate with the French.‡

1698. AFTER the peace at Ryfwick, between England and France, Count Frontenac, governor of Canada, informed the Indians, that he was no longer at liberty to support them in their wars against the English, with whom his nation was now at peace. He therefore advised them to bury the hatchet,

\* *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 82. Belknap, Vol. I. p. 275.*

† *See Modern Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 225.*

‡ *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 281.*



and restore their captives. Having suffered much by famine, and being divided in their opinion respecting the prosecution of the war, they were at length brought to a treaty at Casco, where they ratified their former engagements; and acknowledged subjection to the crown of England.\*

WHEN the war in Europe was terminated, the king appointed the earl of Bellamont governor of New-York, Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, and the earl made New-York the place of his residence. Mr. Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor, conducted the affairs of New-England.

THUS, after a long and expensive war, attended with the most alarming internal divisions, the affairs of the country were settled on a solid basis. Trade began to flourish, and peace and plenty again blessed the New-England settlements.

\* *Mather, Book VII. p. 92. Belknap, Vol. I. p. 281.*



## CHAPTER XIII.

*Lord Bellamont's arrival in Boston. His character and behavior. His death at New-York. Mr. Dudley appointed governor. War with the French and Indians renewed. The reduction of Port-Royal. Unsuccessful expedition against Canada. Peace concluded with the French and their Indian allies. New townships incorporated in Massachusetts. Flourishing state of the colonies.*

**L**ORD Bellamont arrived in Boston, 1699. from New-York, May 26; to see a nobleman at the head of government was a novelty to the inhabitants of New-England. He was a firm friend to the revolution, and a favorite of king William. His religious sentiments were liberal; and though a member of the church of England, he attended the congregational lectures with great respect. The politeness of his manners, and affability of his behavior, conciliated the minds of the people, who treated him with the utmost deference. There was a perfect harmony in the general court whilst he presided. By avoiding offence to particular persons, and conforming to the prevailing disposition and opinion, he obtained a larger salary than either of his predecessors, or any of the subsequent governors of the province.

HE visited and published his commission in New-Hampshire, to the great joy of the inhabitants.\* 1699.

LORD Bellamont this year held two sessions of the general court. The first was on the anniversary for the election of counsellors. The second was occasioned by the prevailing report, that there was a general confederacy of the Indians, for the total extirpation of the English. Such was the consternation in Massachusetts, that several acts passed the general court, viz. for levying soldiers; for punishing mutiny and desertion; for having all the militia prepared for the war; and for enabling the governor to march them out of the province, from which by charter he was restrained without an act of the assembly. The general terror soon after subsided, which prevented the execution of those laws.

SOON after the session of the general court in May, Lord Bellamont took his leave of Massachusetts, and went to New-York, where he died on the 5th of March the subsequent year. His death was greatly regretted by the people in his several governments, among whom he had rendered himself very popular.† 1700.

AFTER the intelligence of Lord Bellamont's death reached England, Queen Anne, who succeeded upon the death of king William, appointed Joseph Dudley, Esq. formerly president of New-England, to be governor of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. He was received in Massachu- 1702.

\* *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 112. Belknap, Vol. I. p. 304.*

† *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 121.*



1702. *w* setts with ceremony and respect, even by those who had been his greatest opposers in the reign of James II.

UPON the accession of governor Dudley, he produced instructions, among other things, that the salaries of the governor and lieutenant-governor, for the time being, should be settled and fixed; but the consequence of this measure, as tending to establish the control of the crown over the proceedings of the legislature, was too well understood to be adopted; and it was opposed both by the council and the house of representatives.\*

THE conduct of Lewis XIV. in proclaiming the Pretender king of England, rendered a war with France inevitable. There was the greatest probability that the Indians would join. The governor of Canada, who assumed the character of their father and protector, instigated them to prevent the settlement of the English on the east of Kennebec. A French mission was established, and a chapel erected at Norridgewog, on the upper part of Kennebec, which served to extend the influence of the French among the Indians.†

1703. *w* THE savage tribes were preparing for hostilities when Dudley entered on his government. The first summer after his arrival, he visited all the eastern frontiers as far as Pemaquid, accompanied with a number of gentlemen from both his provinces. He held a conference at Casco with delegates from a number of the Indian tribes. They gave

\* *Minot*, p. 59. † *Hutchinson*, Vol. II. p. 134.

him the strongest assurances of their pacific intentions, and declared, that though the French emissaries had endeavoured to dissolve the union, yet it was "firm as a mountain, and should continue as long as the sun and moon." Notwithstanding these fair appearances, in the space of six weeks, five hundred of the French and Indians attacked all the settlements from Casco to Wells, and killed and took nearly one hundred and thirty people. They burnt and destroyed the places before them in their destructive ravages.\*

THE country at this period was in terror and confusion. The women and children retired to their garrisons. The men went armed to their work, and posted centinels in the fields. Troops of horse were quartered at Portsmouth, and in the province of Maine. Alarms were frequent; the whole frontier country, from Deerfield on the west, to Casco on the east, was kept in continual terror by small parties of the enemy.†

It was principally against Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire that the Indians, during a ten years war, exerted all their strength. Rhode-Island, from its local situation, has ever been less exposed to the excursions of the French and Indians than those colonies. In the wars of Philip, of king William, and queen Anne, Connecticut lost only the buildings and part of the effects of one town. In the present war, not a single town

\* *Belknap.* † *Penhallow's History of the Wars of New-England.* *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 332.*

1703. in that colony was lost, nor had any considerable number of the inhabitants fallen by the hands of the enemy.\*

BEFORE the close of the year, the Indians made a descent upon Deerfield, a remote settlement on Connecticut river. After putting forty of the inhabitants to death, and capturing an hundred, they departed, leaving a considerable number of the buildings in flames. They conducted the prisoners to Canada, and murdered about twenty of those unfortunate captives, who were unable to travel with the expedition they required. Vaudreuil, the French governor of Canada, treated the prisoners with great humanity.†

1704. THE depredations of the Indians stimulated the colonies to raise forces, to repel their savage attacks. The chief command was given to Col. Church, who had rendered himself famous by his exploits in the Philipic war. By governor Dudley's order, he conducted his army in an expedition to the eastern shores. At Piscataqua, he was joined by a body of men under Major Hilton, who did him eminent service. The English army destroyed the towns of Minas and Chiegnecto, and did considerable damage to the French and Indians at Penobscot and Passamaquody.‡

1705. THE governor, at this period, deputed several gentlemen to take a journey to Canada for the exchange of prisoners. They returned with a number of the inhabitants of Deerfield, and other

\* *Trumbull, Vol. I. p. 474.* † *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 138.*

‡ *Beiknap. Church's History of the Indian War, p. 168.*



captives. Vaudreuil, the French governor, dispatched a commissioner to Boston, with proposals of neutrality, which were communicated to the general court. As their favorite object was the reduction of Canada, they did not discover any disposition to accede to his plan. Dudley protracted the negociation, under pretence of consulting with the other governments; and thus the frontiers were preserved tolerably quiet during the remainder of the year.\*

IN April, the Indians killed eight, and wounded two people in an house at Oyster-River, in New-Hampshire. The garrison was near, but not a man in it. The women, however, seeing nothing but death before them, fired an alarm, and then putting on hats and loosening their hair, that they might not appear like men, they fired so briskly, that the enemy, apprehending the people were alarmed, fled without burning, or even plundering the house they had attacked.†

WHEN Col. Church went to Nova-Scotia, he very earnestly desired leave to make an attempt on Port-Royal; but Dudley would not consent, and the reason he gave was, that he had written to the ministry in England, and expected orders and naval assistance to reduce the place. His enemies, however, assigned another reason for his refusal; which was, that a clandestine trade was carried on by his connivance, and to his emolument, with the French in Port-Royal. This report gained

\* *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 158.* † *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 339.*

1707. credit, and occasioned a vehement demand for justice.\* Those who were directly concerned in the illegal traffic were prosecuted and fined; and the governor suffered much in his reputation. To remove these aspersions, he determined to make an attempt upon Port-Royal, even though he should not receive any assistance from England.

EARLY in the spring, the governor applied to the assemblies of both his provinces, and to the colonies of Rhode-Island and Connecticut, requesting them to raise one thousand men for the expedition. Connecticut declined; but the other three raised the whole number. The chief command of this army was given to Col. March. A jealousy and disagreement among the officers, and a misapprehension of the state of the fort and garrison, rendered this expedition abortive.†

THE war continued the two following years, during which period the colonies were greatly distressed by the devastations of the French and their Indian allies. In 1710, the territory of Acadie was subdued by the capture of Port-Royal. England, at length, assisted the colonies, to raise a force sufficient for the reduction of that place. The chief command of this combined army was given to Francis Nicholson, Esq. who had been lieutenant-governor of Virginia. After the surrender of Port-Royal, it was called Annapolis, in honor of the

\* See Dr. Increase and Cotton Mather's letters to governor Dudley, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1794.

† Belknap, Vol. 1. p. 341.

queen. Samuel Vetch, who had been Colonel in 1710. the late army, was appointed governor.\*

THE surrender of Port-Royal encouraged the 1711. inhabitants of New-England to attempt the reduction of Quebec. General Nicolson made a voyage to England, to solicit for this purpose, and received a favorable answer from the British court. The combined army of English and Americans, engaged in this enterprize, made a body of about six thousand five hundred men; and the fleet consisted of fifteen ships of war. The sanguine hopes of success, which had been entertained by the nation, and the colonies, were all blasted in one fatal night. For as the fleet was on its passage to Canada, eight transports were wrecked on Egg-Island, near the north shore; and one thousand people perished, among whom there was but one man, who belonged to New-England. The expedition was relinquished, in consequence of this melancholy event. On this occasion the colonies felt the keenest disappointment and regret. Some pious minds were hence induced to give up the idea of subjecting Canada. They imagined that their unsuccessful attempts clearly indicated, that Providence never designed the whole northern continent for one European nation.†

THE failure of this expedition encouraged the 1712. Indians to harrass the frontiers, as soon as the season would permit. But the Americans had be-

\* *Wynne's History of the British Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 476.* † *Hatchinson, Vol. II. p. 196.*



1712. come vigilant in discovering, and active in baffling  
 ~ their plans.

IN autumn, intelligence of the peace of Utrecht arrived in America; and on the 29th of October the suspension of arms was proclaimed at Portsmouth. The Indians being informed of this event, came in with a flag of truce to Capt. Moody, and desired a treaty, which the governor, with the

1713. council of each province, held at Portsmouth,  
 ~ where the chiefs and deputies of the several belligerent tribes, by a formal writing under hand and seal, agreed upon articles of submission and pacification.\*

THIS event was peculiarly welcome to the inhabitants of New-England, who had been greatly distressed by the war; Massachusetts and New-Hampshire in particular. Their population bore no proportion to the other colonies; the difference was chiefly owing to the constant state of war, in which those provinces, especially Massachusetts, had been involved. From 1675, when the Philipic war commenced, to 1713, five or six thousand of the youth of the country had perished by the enemy, or by distempers contracted in the service. The province, during the war, was subjected to heavy taxes, which they sustained without any relief or compensation from the parent state.†

NOTWITHSTANDING these difficulties retarded the population of the province of Massachusetts,

\* *Belknap, Vol. I. p. 545.* † *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 202.*  
*The colony tax of Massachusetts, in 1693, was twenty-four thousand pounds.*

it greatly increased; and a number of new townships were formed. Wrentham,\* Needham,† Bellingham‡ and Walpole,|| were, at different periods, set off from Dedham, and incorporated into separate townships.§

THE New-England churches were also rapidly increasing. In 1696, there were an hundred and thirty churches in the colonies, thirty-five of which were in Connecticut.¶

AT this period, Connecticut had settled forty-five towns under its own jurisdiction. Forty of them sent deputies. The house of representatives, when full, consisted of eighty members. 1713.

THE number of ordained clergymen in this colony the present year, exclusive of those in the towns under the government of Massachusetts, was forty-three. Upon the lowest computation, there was one ordained minister to every four hundred persons, or to every eighty families. It does not appear that there was one bereaved church in the colony. Besides, there was a considerable number of candidates preaching in the new towns and parishes, in which churches were not yet formed.

THE whole number of inhabitants in Connecticut, at this time, amounted to about seventeen thousand.\*\*

ABOUT this period, the greatest part of the town of Boston was laid in ashes by an accidental fire. Though the inhabitants of New-England were con-

\* 1661. † 1711. ‡ 1719. || 1724. § *Dexter's Century Sermon.* ¶ *Late President Stiles' manuscript Lectures on Ecclesiastical History.* \*\* *Trumbull, Vol. I. p. 476, 518.*

1713. siderably in debt, on account of the late war, it was soon rebuilt in a far more elegant and commodious manner than before. This evinced the prodigious acquisitions the people had made in commerce and industry since the foundation of the colony. The peace of Utrecht greatly increased the wealth and happiness of New-England. The authors of the Universal History observe, that, “the inhabitants of those colonies, to their native love of liberty, added now the polite arts of life; industry was embellished by elegance; and, what would have been hardly credible in ancient Greece and Rome, in less than fourscore years, colonies, almost unassisted by their mother country, arose in the wilds of America, which, if transplanted to Europe, and rendered an independent government, would have made no mean figure amidst her sovereign states.\*

\* *Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 334.*





## CHAPTER XIV.

*Of the attention paid to the promotion of learning in New-England. New buildings erected for the university of Cambridge. Yale college founded, and settled at New-Haven. The Connecticut churches are convened in a synod at Saybrook. The Episcopalian mode of worship is introduced into Connecticut. Of the different religious denominations in Rhode-Island. An Episcopalian church is erected at Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire. Line of jurisdiction settled between Massachusetts and Connecticut. Death of Queen Anne, and accession of George I. Appointment of governor Shute. Removal and character of governor Dudley.*

**I**T may afford some relief to the mind, to take leave for the present of the distressing Indian wars, and turn the attention to a more pleasing subject.

THE inhabitants of New-England, from their first settlement, were eminently distinguished by their attention to the promotion of learning, and neither their frequent contests with the natives, nor the other difficulties which they were obliged to encounter, could divert their attention from this important object.

1699. THE university of Cambridge was, at this period, in a flourishing situation. The Hon. William Stoughton, lieutenant-governor of the province, erected a building for the accommodation of the students, which filled the space between Harvard and Massachusetts halls. It was called Stoughton hall, after his name, and served to perpetuate his memory.

IN 1745, the widow and daughters of Samuel Holden, one of the directors of the bank of England, were at the expence of erecting Holden chapel, which commemorates their pious liberality.\*

“IN no part of the world,” says Dr. Morfe, “is the education of all ranks of people more attended to than in Connecticut. From the first settlement of this colony, schools have been established by law in every town and parish in it, for instructing all the children in reading, writing and arithmetic. The law also directs that a grammar school should be kept in every county town.”†

IN 1654, Mr. Davenport brought forward the institution of a college, to which the town of New-Haven made a donation of land and meadows, distinguished to this day by the name of college land. Upon a donation of four or five hundred pounds sterling, by governor Hopkins, the general assembly erected the colony school into a college, for teaching the learned languages and sciences. Mr. Davenport took the care of this school for several years; till the trustees, with the magistrates and

\* *Clark's Letters*, p. 18. † *Morfe's Geography*, Vol. I. p. 458.

ministers, established the Rev. Mr. Peck, according to act of the assembly. This gentleman met with such a variety of discouragements, that the college was broken up in 1664, and terminated in a public grammar school, which continues to this day.\*

IN the beginning of the present century, ten of 1700. the principal divines in Connecticut were nominated and agreed upon, by a general consent both of the ministers and people, to stand as trustees, or undertakers, to found, erect and govern a college. The ministers, soon after their nomination, met in New-Haven, accepted the charge, and established the institution. The subsequent year, 1701. they obtained a charter from the general assembly of Connecticut, and a grant of money for the encouragement of this infant seminary.

SOON after the reception of the charter, the trustees met, and established certain rules for the regulation of the seminary; and from their own number chose the Rev. Mr. Pierſon, minister of Killingworth, to the office of instructing and governing the collegiate school, under the title and character of Rector. They fixed on Saybrook, as the most convenient place, at present, for the college; and here the first commencement was holden, on the 13th of September, 1702.

SEVERAL attempts were made to effect the removal of Rector Pierſon to Saybrook, but without success; the smallness of the collegiate finan-

\* *Stiles' History of the Judges, p. 40.*



1703. ces, and the opposition of his own congregation to the measure, prevented its execution. Although, therefore, the commencement was holden at Saybrook, the students, during Rector Pier-son's administration, resided at Killingworth.

THE college continued at Saybrook about seven years, without any remarkable alteration or occurrence. In 1716, the people subscribed large sums for the erection of a college edifice, where it would best accommodate them. The trustees, soon after, voted to remove the college from Saybrook, to New-Haven; and accordingly, for the first time, held the commencement there on the 11th of September, 1717.\*

1717. THE trustees, having received a number of valuable donations, were now enabled to finish a large and commodious edifice, which they had raised in October the preceding year; and which, within a year after, was fit for the reception of the students. At a splendid commencement, September 12, 1718, in the presence of governor Saltonstall, and a large and respectable assembly, the trustees, in commemoration of governor Yale's great generosity (who had made large presents of books, and other valuable articles to the seminary) called the edifice after his name, Yale college.†

FOR a few years the infant college contained, on an average, but twelve or fifteen scholars. At the period of its removal to New-Haven, the num-

\* See a particular account of Yale college in the appendix to Holmes' Life of President Stiles.

† Holmes' Life of President Stiles, p. 386.

ber had increased to about thirty. In the year 1727, it contained fifty or sixty; and in the year 1740, about ninety students.\*

IN 1745, an act was passed by the legislature of Connecticut, "for the more full and complete establishment of Yale college; and for enlarging its powers and privileges." By this act, the rector and trustees were incorporated, by the name of "The President and Fellows of Yale College, in New-Haven;" and they still retain the appellation.†

IN 1750, by means of a lottery, and a liberal grant from the legislature, the corporation was enabled to erect another edifice, for the accommodation of the students. In grateful acknowledgment of the generosity of the government, the president and fellows, at the commencement in 1752, ordered, that the new college be named Connecticut hall.‡

THE inhabitants of Connecticut paid great attention to the religious, as well as to the literary state of their colony. In the year 1708, a synod was convened at Saybrook, composed of the ministers and delegates from the churches of the four counties of Hartford, New-Haven, Fairfield and New-London, together with two or more messengers from a convention of the churches of each of the four counties. This synod drew up the form of church government and discipline, which is known by the name of the Saybrook platform;

\* *Manuscript of the late President Stiles.*

† *Life of President Stiles, p. 391.* ‡ *Ibid.*

1708. this was presented to the general court, passed into a law of the colony, and became the established constitution of the churches of Connecticut.\*

DR. Trumbull observes, "That though the council were unanimous in passing the platform of discipline, yet they were not all of one opinion. Some were for high consociational government, and in their sentiments, nearly Presbyterian; others were much more moderate, and rather verging on Independency; but they exercised great Christian condescension towards each other."†

DURING the term of about seventy years from the settlement of Connecticut, the congregational was the only mode of worship in the colony. But the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, in 1704, fixed the Rev. Mr. Muirson as a missionary at Rye. Some of the people at Stratford, who had been educated in the Episcopalian worship, made an earnest application to Mr. Muirson to visit at Stratford, and preach and baptize among them. About the year 1706, upon their invitation, he came to Stratford, accompanied with Colonel Heathcote, a gentleman zealously engaged in promoting the Episcopal church. The ministers and people in that, and the adjacent towns, were alarmed at his arrival, and used their exertions to prevent their neighbors and families from attending his preaching. However, the novelty of the affair, and other circumstances, brought together a considerable assembly; and

\* *Manuscript of the late President Stiles.* † *Trumbull.*



Mr. Muirson baptized five and twenty persons, 1706. principally adults. This was the first step towards introducing the church worship into this colony. In April, 1707, he made another visit to Stratford. He also preached at this time in Fairfield, and in both towns baptized a number of children and adult persons. Both the magistrates and clergymen opposed the introduction of Episcopacy, and advised the people not to attend the preaching of the church missionaries. The opposition only increased the zeal of the churchmen. Mr. Muirson, after this, made several journies to Connecticut, till the year 1722, when Mr. Pigot was appointed missionary at Stratford. The Episcopalians at first in that place consisted of about fifteen families, among whom were a few husbandmen, but much the greater number were tradesmen, who had been born in England, and came and settled in that town. Some of their neighbors joined them, so that Mr. Pigot had twenty communicants, and about an hundred and fifty hearers. In 1723, Christ Church, in Stratford, was founded, and the Rev. Mr. Johnson, afterwards Dr. Johnson, was appointed to succeed Mr. Pigot.\*

RHODE-ISLAND, from its first settlement, was distinguished by liberality of sentiment; and by the variety of religious denominations, which found an asylum in that colony.

In 1671, a number of the members of Mr. Clark's church, who had embraced the opinions

\* Trumbull.

1671. of the seventh day Baptists, separated from their brethren, and erected a church under the pastoral care of Mr. William Hiscex.\*

IN 1700, the Friends, or Quakers meeting-house was built at Newport. Their yearly meeting, till governor Coddington's death, was held in his house, and he died a member of that body, in 1688.

IN 1720, there was a congregational church gathered at Newport, and the Rev. Nathaniel Clap was ordained its pastor. Out of this church another was formed in 1728. The worship of God, according to the rites of the church of England, was instituted here in 1706, by the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. And in 1738, there were seven worshipping assemblies in this town, and a large society of Quakers at Portsmouth, at the other end of the island.†

THERE had not been any Episcopal church in the province of New-Hampshire, from its first settlement till about the year 1732, when some gentlemen, who were attached to the mode of worship in the church of England, contributed to the erection of a neat building on a commanding eminence at Portsmouth, which they called the queen's chapel. It was consecrated in 1734; and in 1736 they ordained Mr. Arthur Brown for their minister, with a salary from the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts.‡

1713. FOR several years ineffectual attempts had been made for settling a line of jurisdiction between the

\* Callender, p. 65. † Morfe, p. 446. ‡ Belknap.

province of Massachusetts and the colony of New-Haven. This object was now accomplished ; and the lands granted by Massachusetts to Connecticut were applied for the support of Yale college, and other public uses. The controverted towns, for many years after, continued without molestation under the jurisdiction by which they were first settled.

ON the 15th of September arrived the news of Queen Anne's death ; and the accession of King George I, who was then proclaimed in New-England. Colonel Burges was commissioned governor of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire ; but for the consideration of a thousand pounds sterling, he resigned, and Col. Samuel Shute was appointed governor of both provinces. Mr. Dudley was removed, and having passed through many scenes of active life, retired to pass the remainder of his days in a private station.\*

MR. Dudley has been characterised by governor Hutchinson as " a man in whom ambition was the ruling passion." " His friends," says that author, " were lavish in their encomiums on his diligence, frugality, and his judgment in the administration of affairs ; while he was charged by his enemies with bribery, corruption and other crimes." His arbitrary principles were extremely disagreeable to the people under his government. During his administration he had frequent altercations with the council. The high ideas of liberty imbibed by the

\* *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 206.*



inhabitants of New-England occasioned their being extremely jealous of those governors who were appointed by the crown. They early exhibited penetration in discovering, and firmness in opposing, every encroachment on their civil and religious privileges.



## CHAPTER XV.

*Arrival of governor Shute. He renews the treaty with the Indians. Of his altercation with the people. His departure to England. Of the small-pox. War with the French and Indians. Death of the Jesuit Ralle. Peace concluded. Fort Dummer built. Appointment and character of governor Burnet. Of his controversy with Massachusetts respecting a fixed salary. His death. Appointment of governor Belcher.*

**C**OL. Shute arrived in Boston Octo- 1716. ber 4, and was received with the usual parade. The subsequent summer, attended by several of the council both of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, and other gentlemen, he met the Indians at Arrowswick island. This interview with them was thought expedient, to confirm them in their friendship to the English; and, if possible, engage them to relinquish the Roman Catholic, and embrace the Protestant religion.\*

AT the opening of the conference, the governor 1717. offered them an Indian bible, and a Protestant missionary. They rejected both, saying "God had given them teaching already, and if they should depart from it, they would incur his dis-

\* Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 212.

1717. pleasure." All attempts to induce them to change their religion proved ineffectual. They complained of the encroachments which the English had made upon their lands, and discovered the ascendancy which French counsels had gained upon their minds. However, as their aged men were extremely averse to a new war, they agreed, after some altercation, to renew the treaty which was made at Portsmouth.\*

SEVERAL months passed after Col. Shute's arrival, without open opposition to his administration. It was soon, however, insinuated, that he was a man of narrow understanding; and under the influence of men of arbitrary sentiments. The people were hence exhorted to guard their privileges with the utmost vigilance.

SUBJECTS of contention arose from time to time, and there was much altercation between the governor and council during the two subsequent years. A particular relation of those debates would be unentertaining to the generality of readers, and inconsistent with the brevity of this work.

1720. THIS year the dissensions in government arose to a greater height than they had done since the religious disputes in 1637. The governor irritated the house of representatives by negating their choice of Mr. Cook, for a speaker; and upon their refusing to elect another, he dissolved the court. This measure excited the keenest popular resentment.

\* *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 121.*



AGREEABLY to the instructions, which the <sup>1720.</sup> governor had received from England, he recommended to the assembly the establishing of a fixed salary for his support; but all his attempts to this purpose proved ineffectual.\*

A CONTROVERSY arose in New-Hampshire between governor Shute, and George Vaughan, Esq. the lieutenant-governor of that colony. Vaughan contended, that when the governor was present in his other province, he was absent from New-Hampshire, and consequently the administration devolved on him. Shute alleged, that he had the power of commander in chief over both provinces during his residence in either. The controversy was determined in England in favor of governor Shute. Vaughan was displaced, and John Wentworth, Esq. appointed to succeed him.†

THE people of New-Hampshire were satisfied with governor Shute's administration as far as it respected them; and they contributed more towards his support in proportion to their population, than his other government.‡

THE inhabitants of Massachusetts continued <sup>1722.</sup> strenuously to oppose his administration, and gave him so much vexation, that he was induced this year to leave the province, and return to England.

UPON his arrival he exhibited a variety of <sup>1723.</sup> complaints against the house of representatives. He

\* *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 245.*

† *Belknap, Vol. II. p. 21—25.* ‡ *Ibid, p. 42.*

1723. alleged, that they had invaded the royal prerogative, by refusing to admit the governor's negative in the choice of a speaker; by assuming the power of appointing days of fasting and thanksgiving; and in adjourning themselves to a distant day by their own act. Their conduct respecting their military affairs; and other parts of their behavior, were also represented in an unfavorable light.\*

THE British ministry were greatly offended with the conduct of the Massachusetts province towards governor Shute, and concluded from thence that it was their object to be independent of the crown. The result was, that the government of the province was obliged to accept an explanatory charter, dated August 12, 1724, confirming the right of the governor to approve or disapprove of the speaker of the house, and declaring their right of adjourning without his consent; to mean only from day to day, or at most for a term not exceeding two days.†

WHILST the province was distressed by internal divisions, and alarmed with the apprehension of a fourth Indian war, the prevalence of an infectious disease was the source of additional calamities.

1721. AT this period the small-pox proved very mortal in Boston, and some of the adjacent towns. The spread of this disease being prevented for almost twenty years, all born within that time, be-

\* *Belknap, Vol. II. p. 42.* † *Minot, p. 60.*

hides numbers who had previously escaped it, were <sup>1721.</sup> exposed to the distemper. Of 5889, who caught the infection in Boston, 844 died. Inoculation was introduced on this occasion, and was generally so vehemently opposed, that those who promoted it hazarded their lives from popular resentment. Dr. Cotton Mather, one of the principal clergymen in Boston, had seen some accounts of the practice of inoculation, in Constantinople, published in the transactions of the Royal Society, from which he received a very favorable idea of this method. This induced him, when the small-pox first began to spread, to recommend a trial to the physicians of the town. They all declined it except Dr. Boylston, who, to evince his confidence in the utility of this operation, ventured to make the important experiment in his own family. The success was equal to his expectations. Many exposed to the infection were encouraged to receive it in the same way. Dr. Boylston practised inoculation in Boston before it was known in that town, that it had ever been attempted in England, or in any part of Europe, out of the Turkish dominions. Many pious people were struck with horror, and were of opinion, that if any of his patients should die, he ought to be treated as a murderer. The vulgar were exasperated to such a degree, that his family were scarcely secure in his house, and he was frequently insulted in the streets.\*

\* *Boston Gazette for March 10, 1766, p. 360.*



1721. GOVERNOR Hutchinson remarks, that, “such was the force of prejudice, that all orders of men, at that period, condemned a practice, which is at present generally approved, and to which so many thousands owe the preservation of their lives.”\*

MEANTIME the Indians were preparing for war. The French furnished them with ammunition and provisions; and were constantly instigating them to commence hostilities.

THE English found an active enemy in the person of one Sebastian Ralle, a French Jesuit, who had established a church at Norridgewog, where he resided. He was a man of good sense, learning and address; and an enthusiastic for his country and religion. By a compliance with the Indian mode of life, and a gentle condescending deportment, he gained their affections; and they implicitly followed his dictates. Knowing the power of superstition over the savage mind, he took advantage of this, and of their prejudice against the English, in order to strengthen their attachment to the French interest. He even made the offices of devotion serve as incentives to their ferocity, and kept a flag, on which was depicted a cross, surrounded by bones and arrows, which he used to hoist on a pole at the door of his church, when he gave them absolution, previously to their engaging in any warlike enterprise.†

As the passions of the Indians were inflamed by Ralle, and they received every encouragement

\* *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 273—275.* † *Belknap, Vol. II. p. 48.*

from the French; they began in the year 1720 to molest the English settlers in a variety of ways.

IN the succeeding winter, a party was ordered <sup>1721.</sup> to Norridgewog, to seize Ralle. He escaped before they could surround the house, leaving his box of papers, which they conveyed away upon their return, without doing any other damage. Among those papers were his letters of correspondence with the governor of Canada, by which it clearly appeared, he was deeply engaged in exciting the Indians to a rupture, and had promised to assist them.

THIS attempt to seize their spiritual father stimulated the Indians to revenge. After committing several hostile acts, they made a furious attack on the town of Brunswick, which they destroyed. This action determined the government to issue a declaration of war against them, which was published at Boston and Portsmouth, on the 25th of July.\*

THE devastations of the Indians during this, and the subsequent year, caused the government to resolve on an expedition to Norridgewog. The captains Moulton and Harman, both of York, each at the head of a company of one hundred men, executed their orders with great address. They completely invested and surprized that village; killed the obnoxious Jesuit with about eighty of his Indians; recovered three captives; destroyed the chapel, and brought away the plate and furni-

\* *Belknap, Vol. II. p. 51, 52.*

1724. ture of the altar, and the devotional flag, as trophies  
 of their victory.\*

1725. THE success of this expedition induced several  
 volunteer companies to engage against the Indians. One of those companies, under the command of Capt. John Lovewell, of Dunstable, was greatly distinguished, first by their success, and afterwards by their misfortunes. After performing several brave actions, the captain, with more than one quarter of his company, were killed in one of the most fierce and obstinate battles, which was fought with the savages. Notwithstanding this severe discouragement, the English refused to surrender, till the enemy, awed by their brave resistance, and weakened by their own loss, yielded them the honor of the field.†

THE conduct of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, was so flagrant a breach of the treaty of peace, subsisting between the crowns of England and France, that the provinces of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire thought proper to send commissioners to Canada. They were to demand of the French governor restitution of the captives under his government; to remonstrate to him on his injustice and breach of friendship, in countenancing the Indians in their hostilities against the people of New-England; and to insist upon his withdrawing his assistance for the future.‡

THE governor of Canada received the commissioners with great politeness. They were suc-

\* *Belknap, Vol. II. p. 60.* † *Ibid, p. 66-70.*

‡ *Ibid, p. 71.*



cessful in redeeming a number of English captives. The good effects produced by this mission were soon visible. December 15, a treaty was held at Boston, and the subsequent spring ratified at Falmouth, in which a peace was concluded with the Indians. 1725.

NONE of the colonies of New-England, except Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, bore any share in the calamities and expences of this war; and New-Hampshire did not suffer so much as in former wars. The enemy at this period directed their/greatest fury against the eastern parts of Massachusetts.\*

AFTER the departure of governor Shute, Mr. William Dummer, the then lieutenant-governor, succeeded him in the administration of Massachusetts. Mr. Wentworth, lieutenant-governor of New-Hampshire, managed the concerns of that province.

IN the year 1724, a settlement was first made within the present limits of Vermont. The government of Massachusetts then built fort Dummer, upon Connecticut river. This fort was at that time admitted to be within Massachusetts. It was afterwards found to be in New-Hampshire, and is now included in the state of Vermont.†

UPON the accession of King George II. Mr. 1727. William Burnet, son of the celebrated Bishop of Sarum, was appointed governor of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. He is characterized "as a

\* *Belknap, Vol II. p. 79—81.*

† *Williams' History of Vermont, p. 211.*

1727. man of good understanding and polite literature ;  
 ~~~~~ fond of books, and of the conversation of literary  
 men ; but an enemy to ostentation and parade.”*

HE had been governor of New-York and New-
 Jersey ; and his administration had, in general,
 been very popular in those colonies, and approved
 1728. in England. He was received with much parade
 ~~~~~ at Boston, whither the lieutenant-governor of  
 New-Hampshire, with a committee of the council  
 and assembly, went to compliment him on his ar-  
 rival.†

MR. Burnet had positive instructions from the  
 crown to insist on the establishment of a permanent  
 salary in both his provinces. He began with Mas-  
 sachusetts, and there was a warm altercation be-  
 tween him and the general court on that subject.  
 The inhabitants of Massachusetts always declined  
 complying with that requisition, being apprehen-  
 sive that disagreeable consequences might ensue  
 from the independency of the governor on the  
 people over whom he was placed.‡ The inhabit-  
 ants of New-Hampshire were more pliable ; and  
 granted the governor a fixed salary on certain con-  
 1729. ditions. His death, which happened this year,  
 ~~~~~ was supposed to be occasioned by the ill effects,  
 which his controversy with Massachusetts, and the
 disappointment which he suffered had upon his
 nerves.||

* Hutchinson. † Belknap, Vol. II. p. 93.

‡ See a particular account of the controversies between the gov-
 ernors and council, in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts.

|| Belknap, Vol. II. p. 95.

WHEN the death of governor Burnet was known in England, the resentment against the province of Massachusetts for their conduct towards him was very high. It was even proposed to reduce them to a more absolute dependence on the crown. However, a spirit of moderation prevailed, and Mr. Jonathan Belcher, a native of the province, was appointed governor of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.*

WHILST the provinces of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire were engaged in altercations with the governors, who were appointed by the crown, the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island enjoyed, under their ancient charters, the privilege of chusing their own rulers.

THOUGH the altercations between the governors appointed by the crown, and the general assemblies of Massachusetts afford little entertainment, simply considered; yet they appear more interesting when viewed as resulting from that love of liberty which ever formed a distinguished trait in the character of the inhabitants of New-England. The opposition, which was made, to fixing a salary on the royal governors, nurtured a spirit of independence; and early habits of resisting the encroachments of Britain, prepared them for that arduous contest which finally terminated in a separation from the parent state.

* *Belknap, Vol. II, p. 95.*

CHAPTER XVI.

Arrival of governor Belcher. His character. He endeavours in vain to obtain a fixed salary. A party are dissatisfied with his government. Controversy between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, respecting the divisional line. New-Hampshire formed into a separate government. Removal of Mr. Belcher. Mr. Shirley appointed governor. Reduction of Louisbourg. Expedition projected against Canada. The French send a powerful armament against America, which is dispersed by a violent tempest. Treaty of Aix la Chapelle. Plan of introducing bishops in America. Settlement of Bennington.

MR. Belcher arrived the beginning 1730. of August, and was received with great joy. He was a merchant of large fortune, and unblemished reputation; graceful in his person, elegant and polite in his manners. He was a steady generous friend; a vindictive, but not implacable, enemy, though his frankness and sincerity led him to be extremely liberal in his censures both in conversation and letters. Being of an aspiring disposition, he entertained a high sense of the dignity of his commission, and was determined to support it, even at the expence of his private fortune; the emolu-

ments of office, in both provinces, being inadequate to the style in which he chose to live.* 1730.

IN the beginning of his administration, he attempted to obtain a fixed salary from Massachusetts; but he was as unsuccessful as his predecessors. The assembly of that province continued their opposition to this measure with persevering firmness. What he received from New-Hampshire was fixed, and paid out of the excise.†

AFTER Mr. Belcher relinquished the idea of receiving a fixed salary from Massachusetts, he endeavoured to obtain a relaxation of his instructions. A consent to receive particular sums was given for two or three years; and, at length, a general permission to receive such sums as should be granted. Thus the tedious controversy respecting the governor's salary was terminated.‡ 1731.

THOUGH Mr. Belcher's talents were of the popular kind, a party was formed against him, who transmitted complaints of his conduct to England. He and his friends had projected an union of New-Hampshire with Massachusetts; but they had not yet concerted the means of accomplishing this purpose.

MR. Dunbar, the lieutenant-governor of New-Hampshire, was at the head of the opposition against Mr. Belcher. This party contemplated not only the continuance of a separate government, but the appointment of a distinct governor, who should reside in the province, and have no connexion with

* *Belknap, Vol. II. p. 96.* † *Ibid.* ‡ *Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 374.*

1731. Massachusetts. In order to remove the obstacle, which arose from the smallness and poverty of their province, they were zealous to have the bounds of territory not only fixed, but enlarged. Their avowed intention was to terminate a tedious controversy, which had proved a source of inconvenience to the people, who resided on the disputed lands; or those, who sought an interest in them; but their secret design was to displace Belcher, and obtain a separate government.*

THE provinces of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire had a long and tedious controversy respecting the divisional line. The question was referred to commissioners appointed by the crown, who, after displaying much parade, and causing great expence, left the matter undecided. It remained a subject of intrigue and altercation during the two subsequent years. At length, the affair was left to the decision of the lords of the council. Their determinations exceeded the most sanguine expectations of New-Hampshire, as it gave them a tract of country, fourteen miles in breadth, and above fifty in length, more than they had ever claimed.†

ON the other hand, the politicians of Massachusetts were chagrined and enraged at this determination, which curtailed their province. They dispatched Mr. Thomas Hutchinson, afterwards governor of Massachusetts, for an agent to petition the king, that he would reannex to their govern-

* *Belinap, Vol. II. p. 104, 105.* † *Ibid, p. 170.*

ment the twenty-eight new townships, and the 1740. districts of the six old towns, which had been cut off by the division. The petition was finally rejected, and New-Hampshire formed into a separate government.*

IN the mean time Mr. Belcher's enemies were 1741. indefatigable in their endeavours to remove him; and Dr. Belknap observes, "that, by their incessant applications to the ministry; by taking every advantage of his mistakes; by falsehood and misrepresentation; and finally, by the diabolical arts of forgery and perjury, they accomplished their views."

"HE was succeeded in the government of Massachusetts by William Shirley; and in New-Hampshire by Benning Wentworth.†"

AFTER Mr. Belcher was superceded in the government, he repaired to court, where he had an opportunity to exhibit the most convincing evidence of his integrity, and of the base designs of his enemies. He was, at length appointed governor of New-Jersey; where he spent the remaining years of his life; and where his memory has been treated with merited respect.

NEWS being received in Massachusetts that war was declared against France and Spain, it was resolved by the general court, then sitting, to make 1744. provision for raising forces for Nova-Scotia. Governor Shirley projected an enterprize against Louisbourg, a fortified town in the island of Cape-Bre-

* *Belknap, Vol. II. p. 172, 173.* † *Ibid, p. 176.*

1744. ton. Twenty-five years had been devoted to erecting its fortifications, which, though not entirely finished, had cost the crown of France thirty millions of livres. The place was so strong as to be called the *Dunkirk of America*.* In order to reduce this town, governor Shirley solicited and obtained naval assistance from England. The forces employed by Massachusetts consisted of upwards of three thousand two hundred of their own men. The colonies of New-Hampshire and Rhode-Island furnished each three hundred; and Connecticut five hundred. New-York sent a supply of artillery, and Pennsylvania of provisions.

WILLIAM PEPPERELL, Esq. of Kittery, a respectable merchant, and a colonel of the militia, was appointed to command the land forces in this expedition. They were joined by a small squadron, under the command of Commodore Warren.

THE final resolution for this enterprize against Louisbourg, was carried but by the majority of one. After they had embarked, the hearts of many began to fail. Some repented that they had voted for the expedition, or promoted it; and the most thoughtful were involved in the greatest perplexity.†

1745. TOWARDS the end of the month of April, Commodore Warren arrived from the West-Indies, with a sixty-four gun ship, and two of forty. He was soon after joined by another of forty, which had reached Canso a short time before. The men

* *Modern Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 340.*

† *Beiknap, Vol. II. p. 214. Prince's Thanksgiving Sermon, in 1745, p. 22—25.*

of war failed immediately to cruise before Louisbourg. The forces soon followed, and landed at Chapeaurouge-Bay, the last day of April. The transports were discovered from the town early in the morning, which gave the inhabitants the first knowledge of the design. 1745.

THE second day after landing, four hundred men marched round behind the hills, to the north-east part of the harbor, in the night; where they burned the warehouses containing the naval stores. The clouds of thick smoke, proceeding from pitch, tar, and other combustibles, driven by the wind into the great battery, terrified the French to such a degree, that they abandoned it, and retired to the city, after having spiked the guns, and thrown their powder into a well. The hardships of the siege were without parallel in all preceding American operations. The army was employed for fourteen nights, successively, in drawing cannon, mortars, &c. for two miles through a morass to their camp. The Americans were yoked together, and performed labor beyond the power of oxen; which labor could be done only in the night, or in a foggy day; the place being within clear view and random shot of the enemy's walls.

WHILST the forces were busily employed on shore, the men of war and other vessels were cruising off the harbor, as often as the weather would permit. On the 19th of May they captured, chiefly by the address of the gallant Capt. Rous,

1745. a Massachusetts naval officer, the *Vigilant*, a French sixty-gun ship, having 560 men on board, and a great variety of military stores for the relief of the garrison.*

THE capture of the *Vigilant* threw the enemy into great perturbation. This event, with the erection of a battery on the high cliff at the lighthouse, under the direction of Lieut. Col. Gridley, by which the island battery was much annoyed, and the preparations which were evidently making for a general assault, determined Duchambon, the French officer, to surrender; and accordingly, on the 17th of June, he capitulated.†

UPON entering the fortress, and viewing its strength, and the plenty and variety of its means of defence, the most courageous were appalled, and the impracticability of carrying it by assault was fully demonstrated.

As this was a time, when vessels were expected from all parts at Louisbourg, the French flag was kept flying as a decoy. Two East-Indiamen, and one South-sea ship, estimated at 600,000 l. sterling, were taken by the squadron at the mouth of the harbor, into which they sailed as usual, not knowing that the place had surrendered to the English.

THE weather was remarkably fine during the siege; but the rains began the day after the surrender, and continued ten days incessantly, which

* *Gordon, Vol. I. p. 113.*

† *See letters relating to the expedition against Cape Breton, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. I. See also Beiknap, Vol. II. p. 221, 222.*

would undoubtedly have proved fatal to the expedition, had not the capitulation prevented. 1745.

THE religious inhabitants of New-England contemplated with pious gratitude the remarkable interpositions of divine Providence, in the reduction of this town; and the almost miraculous preservation of the army from destruction.

THE news of this important victory occasioned great rejoicings in America, and filled Europe with astonishment. The enterprizing spirit of New-England gave a serious alarm to those jealous fears, which had long predicted the independence of the colonies. Great pains were taken in England to ascribe all the glory to the navy, and depreciate the merit of the army. However, Pepperell received the title of a baronet, as well as Warren. The latter was promoted to be an admiral; the former had a commission as colonel in the British establishment, and was empowered to raise a regiment in America, to be in the pay of the crown. The same emolument was given to Shirley, and both he and Wentworth acquired so much reputation as to be confirmed in their places. And after much difficulty and delay, parliament reimbursed the colonies for their expences.*

WHILST the British colonies, elated by success, planned a new expedition against Canada, the loss of Louisbourg stimulated the French to revenge.

IN the subsequent year a very formidable French fleet sailed for the American coast, under the com- 1746.

* *Belknap, Vol. II. p. 223.*

1746. mand of the Duke d' Anville, a nobleman of ability and courage. This was the most powerful armament ever sent into North-America, having twenty men of war, an hundred transports, about eight thousand disciplined troops, with veteran officers, and all kinds of military stores. It was supposed that the French government had formed the design of recovering Louisbourg, taking Annapolis, breaking up the settlements on the eastern coast of Massachusetts; and of distressing, if not attempting the conquest of New-England. On this alarming occasion, the troops which were destined for Canada found sufficient employment at home; and vigorous exertions were used to repel the attempts of their enemies. The colonies were disappointed in their expectation of a British squadron for their defence; and their situation appeared extremely dangerous. They were, however, at length providentially relieved. The French fleet was visited by such a mortal sickness, that thirteen hundred died at sea; and the greatest part of those who remained were extremely weakened and dispirited. In addition to this calamity, the fleet was dispersed by a violent tempest. The commander, in despair, put a period to his life by poison; and the second in command fell on his sword. Part of the ships were lost, and those which escaped destruction, were obliged to return singly to France.*

DR. Belknap observes, "Never was the hand of divine Providence more visible, than on this

* *Prince's Thanksgiving Sermon, p. 20.*

occasion. Never was a disappointment more severe on the side of an enemy; nor a deliverance more complete, without human help, in favor of this country."* 1746.

WHEN the alarm occasioned by the French fleet had subsided, the season was too far advanced to prosecute the expedition against Canada. Governor Shirley was so intent upon attacking Crown-Point, that he had even proposed to march thither in the winter, and had the address to draw the assembly of Massachusetts into an approbation of his project; but the plan was frustrated by the prudence of the Connecticut assembly, who deemed the winter an improper season for so great an undertaking, and deferred their assistance till the ensuing spring. The termination of the war prevented the renewal of the plan. By the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, it was stipulated, that all things should be restored on the footing they were before the war.†

No sooner were the distresses of war closed, by the renewal of peace, than the colonies, particularly of New-England, were alarmed with the report of an American Episcopacy; which it was the most earnest desire of Dr. Thomas Secker, late archbishop of Canterbury, to accomplish. The colonies were opposed to the introduction of Episcopacy; because they supposed it would be accompanied with such a degree of civil power, as would, at length, infringe upon the rights of other denominations.‡ 1749.

* *Belknap, Vol. II, p. 230, 232.* † *Ibid, p. 254.* ‡ *Gordon.*

1749. THE political reason on which the design of sending bishops to America was founded, was the circumstance of several nonjuring clergymen, in the interest of the Pretender, having come into the country from Great-Britain, whose influence it was necessary to counteract and destroy. But some leading persons in the ministry being opposed to it, the project was laid aside in the cabinet. Nevertheless, the society for propagating the gospel, from different views, took it under their patronage.*

IN order to obviate the objections which they supposed the colonies would make to the introduction of Episcopacy, they stated,

THAT the bishops to be sent to the colonies should not be vested with any authority, but that of a spiritual and ecclesiastical nature. That this authority should operate only on the clergy, and not on the laity, or dissenters of any denomination. That the bishops should not interfere with the property or privileges, whether civil or religious, of churchmen or dissenters. That their maintenance should not be at the charge of the colonies; and that they should not be settled in places where the government is in the hands of dissenters, as in New-England. That their authority should extend only to ordain clergy over Episcopal congregations; to inspect the manners and behavior of such clergy, and to confirm the members of the church of England.†

THE design of introducing bishops in America, was, however, laid aside at this period.

* *Minot*, p. 136. † *Ibid*, p. 137.

THIS year Benning Wentworth, governor of 1749. New-Hampshire, made a grant to that colony of a township six miles square, by the name of Bennington, in allusion to his own name. For the space of four or five years, he made several other grants on the west side of Connecticut river. The application for new grants was suspended for a time, in consequence of the war between France and the British colonies, which will be briefly related in the subsequent chapter.*

* *Williams' History of Vermont, p. 212.*



CHAPTER XVII.

Revival of the disputes between the French and British colonies. Congress appointed. They form a plan of union, which is rejected. Of the four expeditions against the French. Mr. Pitt appointed prime minister. American affairs wear a more favorable aspect. Louisbourg taken. Several French forts are reduced. Defeat of the English troops at Ticonderoga.

THE treaty of Aix la Chapelle had terminated none of the controverted points between the French and English concerning the limits of their respective colonies. To accomplish this purpose, commissioners were mutually chosen. These commissioners met at Paris, but came to no decision. The French were in possession of all Canada, had settlements in Louisiana, and they meditated to join these distant colonies, by a chain of forts and posts from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, and to extend the limits of Canada as far eastward as to command navigation in the winter, when the great river St. Lawrence is impassable. These claims of territory were a subject of complaint to the English and Americans, and threatened to revive the flames of war.*

* *Belknap, Vol. II. p. 284.*

IN this alarming crisis of affairs, a Congress was ¹⁷⁵⁴ held at Albany, consisting of delegates from Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Maryland; with the lieutenant-governor, and council of New-York. One member from each colony was appointed, to draw a plan of union. The substance of this plan was, that application be made, for an act of parliament, to form a grand council, consisting of delegates from the several legislative assemblies, subject to the control of a president-general, to be appointed by the crown, with a negative voice. That this council should enact general laws; apportion the quotas of men and money, to be raised by each colony; determine the building of forts, regulate the operation of armies, and concert all measures for the common protection and safety. The delegates of Connecticut alone, entered their dissent to the plan, because of the negative voice of the president-general. "It is," says Dr. Belknap, "worthy of remark, that this plan for the union of the colonies was agreed to, on the fourth day of July; exactly twenty-two years before the declaration of American independence; and that the name of Franklin appears in both."*

THIS plan of union was rejected in America, because it was supposed to put too much power into the hands of the king; and it was rejected in England, because it was thought to give too much authority to the assemblies of the colonies. The

* *Belknap, Vol. II. p. 286. Minot, p. 191.*

1754. *w* ministry made another proposal, that the governor, with one or two members of the council of each colony; should assemble, and consult for the common defence, and draw on the British treasury for the sums expended, which should be raised by a general tax, laid, by parliament, on the colonies: But this was not a time to push such an alarming innovation, and when it was found impracticable, the ministry determined to employ their own troops to fight their battles in America, rather than to let their colonies feel their own strength; and be directed by their own counsels.

As it was necessary to draw aid from the colonies, they resolved to permit their militia to serve inferior offices; but British troops, commanded by British officers, must have the honor of reducing the French dominions in North-America.*

THE depredations of the French and their Indian allies rendered it necessary to drive them from the Ohio. The reduction of Niagara, Crown-Point, and their forts in Nova-Scotia, was also resolved upon.†

1755. *w* ALTHOUGH the war was not yet formally declared, General Braddock was sent from Ireland to Virginia, with two regiments of foot; when joined, upon his arrival, by the provincial troops, he found himself at the head of 2200 men. He was a brave officer, but deficient in many qualifications necessary for the service to which he was appointed. The severity of his discipline made

* *Belknap, Vol. II. p. 287.* † *Wynne, Vol. II. p. 45.*

him unpopular among the regulars. His pride and haughtiness induced him to despise the country militia, and to slight the advice of the Virginia officers.* 1755.

COL. Washington (who began to exhibit those great abilities, which so eminently distinguished him at a future period) was then aid-de-camp to General Braddock. When the army was marching for Fort-du-Quefne, he earnestly begged the general to admit of his preceding the British regulars, and scouring the woods with his rangers. This was contemptuously refused. The general had been cautioned by the Duke of Cumberland, and his own officers, to guard against a surprize, and yet he pushed on heedlessly with the first division, consisting of 1400 men, till he fell into an ambuscade of four hundred, chiefly Indians, by whom he was defeated, and mortally wounded. The regulars were put into the greatest panic, and fled in the utmost confusion. The militia were accustomed to Indian fighting, and were not terrified to such a degree. The general had disdainfully turned them into the rear, where they continued in a body unbroken, and under the conduct of Col. Washington, served as a most useful rear guard, covered the retreat of the British troops, and prevented their being entirely cut off.†

PREVIOUSLY to the defeat of General Braddock, the Massachusetts assembly raised a body of troops

* Wynne, Vol. II. p. 45. † Entick's General History of the French War, Vol. I. p. 143, 144. Wynne, Vol. II. p. 41, 42.

1755. who were dispatched to Nova-Scotia, to assist lieutenant-governor Lawrence in expelling the French from their several encroachments in that province. This expedition was undertaken and conducted at the expence of the crown; and the command given to lieutenant-colonel Monckton; but the Massachusetts forces acted as a distinct body, under their own officers, with a promise of the same pay, and being treated in every respect as others in the same service. The secrecy and dispatch used in this expedition were rewarded with success.*

GOVERNOR Shirley commanded the expedition against Niagara. Part of the troops devoted to the execution of this scheme did not arrive till the season was so far advanced, that it was unanimously agreed to defer the attempt till the subsequent year.

COLONEL, afterwards Sir William, Johnson, was appointed to go against Crown-Point. The slowness and deficiency of preparations, prevented the several colonies joining their troops till about August. Meanwhile the active enemy, having transported forces from France to Canada, marched down to meet the provincials, and attacked them; but being repulsed, they lost six hundred men, besides having their general, Baron Dieskau, wounded and made prisoner.

1757. THIS year war was formally declared against France; and Massachusetts raised a great arma-

* *Minck,* p. 217.

ment to attack Crown-Point. Lord Loudon, who ^{1757.} at this period was commander in chief of the British forces in North-America, did not think proper that the troops should proceed, till the American army was reinforced. This delay gave the enemy time to strengthen Crown-Point, to recruit and refresh their forces, and to improve some success, which had lately attended their military movements. In the course of the year, the French received a reinforcement of near three thousand men, under the command of General Montcalm, an officer of superior talents from Europe.*

THE English ministry were greatly dissatisfied with the conduct of the war in America; Lord Loudon was recalled, and the chief command devolved upon General Abercrombie.

AT this period American affairs began to assume a more favorable aspect. Happily for the British nation the great Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, was placed at the head of the ministry. The people of England confided in him for the salvation of their country. His administration united all parties, and restored such order, unanimity and decision to the public councils, that the force of the empire was directed with success in every quarter of the globe.†

THE reduction of Louisbourg, which had been restored to the French by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was undertaken with enthusiasm and zeal, and was effected by the spirited exertions of the

* *Entick, Vol. I. p. 494. 495.*

† *Life of the Earl of Chatham, p. 68, 69, 70.*

1758. sea and land forces, under Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst. Five or six ships of the line were taken. The French governor, finding it impossible to support an assault, surrendered by capitulation. Here the brave General Wolfe, who afterwards acted so distinguished a part at Quebec, displayed his eminent military abilities.*

IN the mean time the military operations on the continent were conducted with equal vigor. Frontenac and Fort-du-Quefne fell into the hands of the British; acquisitions which overbalanced the check which they had received at Ticonderoga, where General Abercrombie was defeated, and a considerable number killed and wounded, whilst attacking the lines in that place.

THE prosperous events of this year, however, opened a pleasing prospect of success to the British and Americans, and encouraged and animated them to vigorous exertions to expel the French from their possessions in the new world.

* *Wynns, Vol. II. p. 80.*



CHAPTER XVIII.

The war against the French prosecuted with vigor and success. Of the reduction of Fort Niagara. Ticonderoga and Crown-Point evacuated. Quebec taken by the English after a severe battle, in which the Generals Wolfe and Montcalm are killed. Character of General Wolfe. All Canada conquered by the British and American arms. Several of the French islands subdued. General peace.

AT the opening of this year, the 1759. British ministry used the most vigorous exertions to reduce the French dominions in North-America. Preparations were made, and expeditions brought forward against three different parts at the same period. General Wolfe was to proceed up the river St. Lawrence, with a body of eight thousand men, and a strong squadron of ships from England, to besiege Quebec, the capital of the French dominions in America, and the central point of the British operations. General Amherst, the commander in chief, at the head of twelve thousand troops, was to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, then cross lake Champlain, and, proceeding along the banks of the river Richlieu, to the river St. Lawrence, join General Wolfe before Quebec. Brigadier-General Prideaux, with a third body of troops, assisted by a considerable

1759. number of Indians, assembled by the influence, and under the command of Sir William Johnson, had orders to attack a French fort near the cataract of Niagara, which, in a manner commanded all the interior parts of North-America, and was a key to the whole continent.*

THE last named expedition was the first which succeeded. General Prideaux, with his army, advanced to the cataract of Niagara, without meeting with the least obstruction, and, investing the fort about the middle of July, carried on his approaches with great vigor, till the 20th of that month, when, visiting the trenches, he was unfortunately killed by the bursting of a mortar. After his death, the whole command of the expedition devolved upon General Johnson, who omitted nothing to bring forward the spirited operations of his predecessor. A body of French troops, who were sensible of the importance of this fort, attempted to relieve it; but Johnson attacked them with intrepidity and success, so that in less than an hour their whole army was defeated. The garrison, soon after perceiving the fate of their countrymen, surrendered prisoners of war.

THE success of General Amherst was less splendid, though not less serviceable. On his arrival before Ticonderoga, the French first appeared determined to defend the place; but finding the English general prudent, resolute, and acquainted with the strength of their forces, they abandoned

* Wynne, Vol. II. p. 93.

this strong post, and retired to Crown-Point, which, 1759. from similar motives, they were soon after induced to evacuate.*

THERE now, therefore, remained but one grand and decisive blow, to put all North-America into the possession of the English. This was the taking of Quebec, the capital of Canada, a city handsomely built, populous and flourishing. Admiral Saunders was appointed to command the naval part of this expedition. The siege by land was committed to the conduct of General Wolfe, of whom the nation had great expectations. This young soldier, who was not yet thirty-five, had distinguished himself on many former occasions; and without being indebted to family or connexions, had raised himself by merit to his present command.†

THIS enterprize was attended with a combination of formidable difficulties. General Wolfe was opposed, with far superior force, by the Marquis de Montcalm, the most brave and successful general the French possessed. Though the situation of the country which Wolfe was to attack, and the works which the French erected, to prevent the descent of the English, were deemed impregnable, yet Montcalm never relaxed in his vigilance. The city of Quebec was strongly fortified, secured with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provisions and ammunition. The French army consisted of upwards of twelve thousand men, exclusive of large bodies of Indians.‡

* *Wynne, Vol. II. p. 99.* † *Goldsmith's History of England, p. 348.* ‡ *Entick, Vol. IV. p. 96.*

1759. WITH this force, Montcalm took the field, and encamped in a very advantageous situation. The troops extended along the shore of Beauport, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorency, and were entrenched in every accessible place, with the river and sand-banks in front, and impracticable woods in the rear. The post was not only impregnable, but it enabled the enemy, whenever they pleased, to throw succours into the city.

THE only prospect of attempting the town with success, was by landing a body of troops in the night above the town, who were to ascend the banks of the river, and take possession of the ground on the back of the city. This attempt, however, appeared peculiarly discouraging. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank above lined with centinels, the landing place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the steepness of the ground, such as hardly to be surmounted in the day time. These formidable difficulties were overcome by the conduct of the general, and the bravery of his troops. Col. Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity, and dislodged a small body of troops that defended a narrow path-way up the bank. Having cleared the path, they gained the top of the hill without further interruption. As fast as they ascended they formed themselves, so that the whole army was in order of battle by day-break.*

* *Wynne, Vol. II. p. 121. Goldsmith, p. 349.*

MONSIEUR de Montcalm, the French commander, was no sooner apprized that the English had gained these heights, which he had confidently deemed inaccessible, than he resolved to hazard a battle; and a furious encounter quickly began. This was one of the most desperate engagements during the war. The English withstood the attacks of their enemies with the greatest intrepidity and firmness. Having been ordered to load with double ball, they poured in a terrible discharge, and continued their fire with such deliberation and spirit, that the French gave way, and fled with precipitation. The Marquis de Montcalm was slain; and the second in command shared the same fate. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, where the attack was most warm; and standing conspicuous in the front line, had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen, and at last received a shot in the wrist, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped an handkerchief round his arm, he continued giving orders without the least emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers with their bayonets fixed; but a second ball, more fatal, pierced the breast of this young hero, just as the French began to retreat. Unable to proceed, he leaned on the shoulder of a lieutenant, who was next him. Now struggling in the agonies of death, and just expiring, he heard a voice cry, "they run!" upon which he seemed for a moment to revive, and asking who ran, was inform-

1759. ed “the French.” Expressing his wonder that they ran so soon, and unable to gaze any longer, he sunk on the officer’s breast, and his last words were, “I thank God, I die happy.”*

BRIGADIER-general Monckton, the second English officer, was dangerously wounded, while emulating the courage of his predecessor. The chief command devolved upon General Townsend, who completed the defeat of the French. Quebec surrendered by capitulation to the English, after a severe campaign of three months.

THIS important victory was gained at the expence of sixty-one men killed, including nine officers; and of five hundred and ninety-eight wounded. The death of General Wolfe was a national loss; and universally lamented. He possessed a genius of the first rank in the military line, and was the pattern of the officer, and delight of the soldier. He was generous, affable and humane; and added the amiable virtues to his military greatness. His constitutional courage was uniform and daring; and he possessed a strength, steadiness and activity of mind, which no dangers could discourage. In the expedition against Quebec, his abilities shone with the brightest lustre. Notwithstanding the great superiority of numbers, the unforeseen difficulties from the nature of the situation, the strength of the place, and his own bad state of health, he persevered with indefatigable industry in forming and executing that dan-

* *Entick, Vol. IV. Wynne, Vol. II. p. 123. Goldsmith, p. 349. Universal History, Vol. XLX.*

gerous and important plan, which caused the de- 1759.
 feat of the French; and will forever denominate
 him the *Conqueror of Canada*.*

THE subsequent season the French made a vig- 1760.
 orous effort to retake Quebec; but by the resolu-
 tion of governor Murray, and the appearance of
 an English fleet, under the command of Lord Col-
 ville, they were rendered unable to prosecute the
 enterprize.

THE whole province of Canada was soon after
 reduced by the prudence and activity of General
 Amherst, who obliged the French army to capit-
 ulate. It has since remained annexed to the Brit-
 ish empire.†

To these conquests, about the same time, was
 added the reduction of the island of Guadaloupe,
 under Commodore Moore and General Hopson,
 an acquisition of great importance; but which
 was restored at the general peace.

THIS year Martinico was taken by Admiral 1762.
 Rodney and General Monckton, and also the
 islands of Grenada, St. Vincent's and others. The
 capture of these islands was followed by the sur-
 render of the Havannah, the capital of the island
 of Cuba.

THE success, which attended the British army in
 the West-India islands, terminated the war. The
 subsequent year a definitive treaty of peace was 1763.
 concluded at Paris between Great-Britain, France
 and Spain. By this treaty, the English ceded to
 the French several islands, which had been taken

* *Entick. Wynne, Vol. II. p. 126.* † *Goldsmith, p. 50.*

1763. from them in the West-Indies. Yet the whole continent of North-America was left in the possession of the British crown.*

DURING the war, the colonies in general, and the Massachusetts in particular, complied with the requisitions of the British minister, and exhibited a readiness to support his plans for the reduction of the French power. Many of the several privates who gained such laurels, by their singular bravery on the plains of Abraham, when Wolfe died in the arms of victory, were natives of Massachusetts. When Martinico was attacked, in 1761, and the British force was greatly weakened by sickness and death, the timely arrival of the New-England troops, enabled the former to prosecute the reduction of that island with success. They also arrived at the Havannah at a critical period, and by their junction with the British, facilitated the conquest of that place. Their fidelity, activity and courage were such as to gain the approbation and confidence of the British officers.†

IN the prosecution of the war, the advantages which Great-Britain derived from her colonies were severely felt by her enemies. Upwards of four hundred privateers, which were fitted out of the ports of the British colonies, successfully attacked the French commerce. These not only ravaged the West-India islands, belonging to his most Christian Majesty, but made many captures on the coast of France. Besides distressing the French

* *Wynne, Vol. II. p. 149.* † *Gordon, Vol. I. p. 137, 146.*

nation by privateering, the colonies furnished 23,800 men, to co-operate with the British regular forces in North-America. The success of their privateers—the co-operation of their land forces—the convenience of their harbors, and their continuity to the West-India islands, made the colonies great acquisitions to Britain, and formidable enemies to France. From their growing importance the latter had much to fear. Their continued union with Great-Britain threatened the subversion of the commerce, and the American possessions of the French nation.*

“THIS war,” says a late author, “was one of the most glorious and successful for Great-Britain, that had ever been carried on, in any age, or by any nation. In the space of eight years she had made herself mistress of almost the whole continent of North-America. She had conquered twenty-five islands, all of them remarkable for their magnitude, their produce, or the importance of their situation. She had won by sea and land twelve great battles; she had reduced nine fortified cities and towns, and nearly forty forts and castles. She had destroyed or taken above an hundred ships of war from her enemies, and acquired, as it is supposed, about twelve millions in plunder.”†

THOUGH the military glory of Great-Britain rose to its highest pitch, yet the fame thence acquired was bought at a high price. The lives of two hundred and eighty thousand men, including a great number

* *Ramsay's History of the American Revolution, Vol. I. p. 40.*

† *Lendrum, Vol. I. p. 252.*

of brave and able officers, an incredible quantity of treasure, and an increase of the national debt from seventy-two to one hundred and twenty-two millions sterling, exclusive of thirteen millions unfunded.*

At this period the arms of Great-Britain had recently been successful in every part of the globe. Power, however, like all things human, has its limits ; and there is an elevated point of grandeur which seems to indicate a descent. The kingdoms of Europe looked with a jealous eye upon Britain, after the acquisition of such immense power and territory. A tide of prosperity has a similar effect upon nations, as upon individuals. Hence the haughtiness of Britain was heightened by her late conquests, while the high ideas of liberty and independence which were nurtured in the colonies by their local situation, and the state of society in the new world, were increased by the removal of hostile neighbors. Thus prepared, the seeds of discord were soon planted between the parent state and the colonies, which speedily sprung up to the rending of the empire, and reducing the power and grandeur of the British nation.

* *Encyclopedia Brit.*



CHAPTER XIX.

State of the colonies at the termination of the French war. The settlement of Vermont. The college founded at Providence, in Rhode-Island. Of Dartmouth college. An account of the causes which produced the American revolution.

THE state of the British colonies, at the conclusion of the war, in 1763, attracted the attention of all the politicians in Europe. Their flourishing condition at that period was remarkable and striking. Their trade had prospered in the midst of all the difficulties and distresses of a war, in which they were so nearly, and so immediately concerned. Their population continued advancing, notwithstanding the ravages and depredations of the French and their Indian allies. They abounded with spirited and active individuals of all denominations. They were elated with the uncommon prosperity that had attended them in their commercial affairs, and military transactions. Hence they were ready for all kinds of undertakings, and saw no limits to their hopes and expectations.*

DURING the progress of the war, the New-England troops cut a road through Charlestown, in New-Hampshire, to Crown-Point. They were frequently passing through these lands; and their fertility and value became generally known.

* *Lendrum, Vol. I. p. 253.*

Upon the cessation of hostilities, they were eagerly sought after by adventurers and speculators. By the advice of his council, the governor of New-Hampshire directed a survey to be made of Connecticut river, for sixty miles; and three lines of townships to be laid out on each side.

THE application for lands constantly increased, and new surveys were made. So rapid was the progress, that during the year 1761, sixty townships, of six miles square, were granted on the west of Connecticut river. The whole number of grants, in one or two years more, amounted to one hundred and thirty-eight, and their extent was, from Connecticut river, to what was esteemed east of Hudson's river, so far as that extended to the northward; and after that, as far west as the eastern shore of lake Champlain. The cultivation of the country, and the number of the settlers, increased with surprizing rapidity.*

THIS tract of country which was called Vermont, was claimed both by New-York and New-Hampshire. The claim of New-York was founded upon a grant which Charles II. in 1664, and 1674, made to his brother, the Duke of York; containing, among other parts of America, "all the lands from the west side of Connecticut river, to the east side of Delaware bay." This grant was inconsistent with the charters, which had previously been given to Massachusetts and Connecticut; and neither of them admitted it to have any effect, with regard to the lands which

* *Williams, p. 212.*

they had settled or claimed to the west of Connecticut river.*

ON a final settlement of a dispute between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, the present jurisdictional line between Vermont and Massachusetts, was run and established, in the year 1741. From that time until the year 1764, this territory was considered as lying within the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire. During this period numerous grants were made, and, after the year 1760, some considerable settlements were begun under the authority of that province. In the year 1764, by order of the king of Britain, this territory was annexed to New-York. The government of that province pretended to claim the right of soil as well as jurisdiction, and held the grants formerly made under New-Hampshire to be void. This occasioned a long series of altercation between the settlers and claimants under New-Hampshire, and the government of New-York, and which, at the commencement of the late revolution, terminated in the establishment of a separate jurisdiction in the present state of Vermont. A particular account of this controversy would be inconsistent with the brevity of this work.†

AFTER the establishment of peace, the American colonies increased in knowledge, as well as in opulence and population. This year a charter was granted, by the general assembly of Rhode-Island, for founding a seminary of learning, by the

* *Williams*, p. 212. † *Morse's Geography*, Vol. I. p. 360.

1764. name of the " Trustees and Fellows of the college or university in the English colony of Rhode-
 Island and Providence Plantations," in consequence of the petition of a large number of the most respectable characters in the state. By the charter, the corporation of the college consists of two separate branches, with distinct, separate and respective powers. The number of trustees is thirty-six, of whom twenty-two are of the denomination called Baptists, five of the denomination of Friends, five Episcopalians, and four Congregationalists. The same proportion of the different denominations to continue *in perpetuum*. The number of the fellows (inclusive of the president, who is a fellow *ex officio*) is twelve, of whom eight are Baptists; the others chosen indiscriminately from any denomination. The concurrence of both branches, by a majority of each, is necessary for the validity of an act, except adjudging and conferring degrees, which exclusively belongs to the fellowship as a learned faculty. The president must be a Baptist; professors and other officers of instruction are not limited to any particular denomination. There is annually a general meeting of the corporation, on the first Wednesday in September, at which time the public commencement is held.*

It is thus expressed in the college charter: " All the members of this institution shall forever enjoy full, free, absolute and uninterrupted, liberty of conscience, and that the places of professors, tu-

* *Morse's Geography, Vol. I. p. 437.*

tors, and all other officers, the president excepted, 1764. shall be free and open for all denominations of Protestants."*

THIS institution was first founded at Warren, in the county of Bristol, and the first commencement held there in 1769.

IN the year 1770, the college was removed to Providence, where a large elegant building was erected for its accommodation, by the generous donations of individuals, mostly from the town of Providence. It is situated upon a hill to the east of the town, and while its elevated situation renders it delightful, by commanding an extensive variegated prospect, it furnishes it with a pure salubrious air.†

THE inhabitants of New-Hampshire, like those of the other New-England settlements, were distinguished by their attention to the promotion of learning. The ancient laws of the colony required every town of one hundred families to keep a grammar school, in which the learned languages should be taught, and youth prepared for admission to an university.‡

DURING the administration of governor Wentworth, a feminary of literature was established in the province of New-Hampshire. It was founded on a projection of Doctor Eleazer Wheelock, of Lebanon, in Connecticut, for the removal of the Indian charity school.||

* *Charter of Providence College.* † *Morse*, p. 437.

‡ *Belknap.* || *Ibid*, Vol. II. p. 349.

1769. THE first design of a school of this kind was conceived by Mr. John Sergeant, missionary to the Indians at Stockbridge. A rambling mode of life, and a total want of letters, were ever unfriendly to the propagation of religious knowledge among the savages of America. This worthy missionary, intent on the business of his profession, procured benefactions from many benevolent persons, and began a school at Stockbridge; where the Indian youth were to be maintained and instructed, both in literature and agriculture. Death put an end to the labors of this excellent man, before his plan could be accomplished.

THIS design was revived by Wheelock. Having made some experiments, he was encouraged to proceed by the tractable disposition of the Indian youths, and their proficiency in learning; but especially, by the numerous benefactions, which he received from the friends of religion and humanity.

As an improvement on the original design, a number of English youths were educated with the Indians, both in literary and agricultural exercises; that their example might invite the Indians to the love of those employments, and abate the prejudice, which they have universally imbibed, that it is beneath the dignity of man to delve in the earth.*

As the number of scholars increased, it became necessary to erect buildings, and extend cultivation. That part of the country in which the school was

* *Belknap, Vol. II. p. 351.*

first placed, being filled with inhabitants, a removal was contemplated. The founder was induced to accept an invitation made by the governor and other gentlemen in New-Hampshire; hence the township of Hanover, on the eastern bank of Connecticut river, was finally determined upon, as the most convenient situation for the school, to which the governor annexed a charter of incorporation for an university, which was named Dartmouth college, after the Earl of Dartmouth, one of its principal benefactors.*

DOCTOR Wheelock was declared the founder and president of this university, with power to nominate his successor, in his last will. A board of twelve trustees was constituted, with perpetual succession; and the college was endowed with a large landed estate. In 1771, a commencement was first held at this place.†

PREVIOUSLY to the establishment of the above mentioned seminary of learning, the political calm, which the colonies had so long enjoyed, was overcast with a cloud. Great-Britain, elated with her prosperity, had already formed, and proposed a plan, which tended to subvert their privileges; and they, animated with an ardent love of liberty, had already exhibited a determined spirit of resistance.

BEFORE an historical sketch is given of the impolitic measures which were taken by the British ministry, it may, perhaps, be proper to mention

* *Belknap, Vol. II. p. 351.* † *Ibid.*

some of the causes, which produced that ardent love of liberty, which stimulated the New-England colonies to resist the arbitrary encroachments of the parent state.

NEW-ENGLAND was first settled by those, who groaned under the yoke of oppression and religious persecutions in their native country. They had been zealous asserters of the cause of liberty during the arbitrary reigns of James and Charles. The tyranny of the British government, which impelled them to seek an asylum in the new world, impressed their minds with high ideas of their civil and religious privileges, and the care they took to preserve them inviolate was evinced by their early policy and establishments. As their charters gave them the power of choosing their own officers, those ideas were confirmed and heightened by the habits of acting as freemen. Whenever they conceived their liberties in danger, we find traits of the same spirit which finally severed them from Britain. When the new charter of Massachusetts deprived that colony of the privilege of choosing their rulers, we find a continual altercation between the people and royal governors. These habits of resisting every encroachment in its infancy, invigorated their minds, and prepared them for greater exertions, when the tyranny of Britain attempted to subjugate them to further innovations. The long period, which elapsed between the *stamp-act*, and the commencement of hostilities, called forth the most distinguished abilities, and developed characters,

which will be remembered with immortal honor in the annals of America. The writings of these eminent characters diffused knowledge among the great body of the people, and they became well acquainted with the grounds of the dispute between Britain and the colonies. The flame of liberty, which was first kindled in New-England, enlightened the continent; and to their early exertions, the other colonies, in a great measure, owe their liberty and independence. The force of *public opinion*; the *energy of American counsels*; and *their final success in arms*, gave rise to one of the most extraordinary revolutions in history, which is replete with the most important consequences to mankind.



CHAPTER XX.

Rise of the controversy between Great-Britain and the colonies. Of the stamp-act. Spirited opposition made to it. Congress appointed. The stamp-act repealed. Rejoicing on that occasion.

IN the two preceding chapters we have seen Britain extending her conquests, and the colonies rising in population and knowledge. At present we must reverse the prospect, and view the parent state, elated by her late prosperity, and impelled by avarice and ambition, using every exertion to deprive the colonies of their invaluable privileges. On the other hand, we may contemplate the Americans, with unshaken firmness, persevering in defending their just rights, and resisting the arbitrary impositions of the British nation.

IN the foregoing history, we have seen the designs of Dudley, Randolph, Andros, and others, to establish an arbitrary government in New-England. Ever jealous of encroachments upon their privileges, the American settlers baffled all their schemes. Their insidious designs were buried with them for a long period. At length, they were revived during the administration of governor Shirley, who, being an enterprizing character, formed great designs of aggrandizing himself and his connexions. Mr. Thomas Hutchinson and

Mr. Oliver were his principal ministers, joined with other subordinate instruments. The capital scheme was to raise a revenue in America, by authority of parliament.*

IN the year 1754, Mr. Shirley communicated to Dr. Franklin the grand design of taxing the colonies, by act of parliament. This distinguished patriot returned an answer in writing, in which he reasoned with energy against the execution of this impolitic plan.†

THE project of taxing the colonies was, for a time, laid aside; Mr. Shirley was removed, and Mr. Pownall appointed to succeed him in the government. As this gentleman was a friend to liberty and the constitution, those who wished to revive the design of taxing the colonies, endeavoured to excite an uneasiness against his government. Mr. Pownall, averse to altercation, solicited to be recalled, and after some time, Mr. Bernard, a man of arbitrary principles, was removed from New-Jersey to the chair of this province.

WHILST the war lasted, these simple provinces were of too much importance in the conduct of it to be disgusted by an open attempt against their liberties. The party, therefore, who were inimical to their country, prepared the way, by extending their connexions and correspondencies in England, by conciliating the friendship of the crown officers

* See a concise account of the first movers of the plan to tax America, and the gradual steps taken to effect this purpose, in President Adams' History of the Disputes with America, written in 1774. † *ibid.*, p. 4, 5, 6.

occasionally here, and insinuating that their designs were necessary to be undertaken at some future favorable opportunity, for the good of the empire, as well as of the colonies.

THE termination of the French war, which involved the British nation in an immense load of debt, was selected as a proper time for those who wished to introduce an arbitrary government, to suggest to the British financier, the project of taxing the colonies by act of parliament.*

WHILST these men were privately seeking the establishment of an American nobility, out of which an intermediate branch of legislation, between the royal and democratic powers, should be appointed; they pretended, that the tax in America, would afford assistance in discharging the national debt of Britain.†

MR. Israel Mauduit, the Massachusetts agent, in 1763, gave early notice of the ministerial intentions to tax the colonies; but the general court not being called together, till the latter end of the year, instructions to the agent, though solicited by him, could not be transmitted in proper time.‡

1764. THE subsequent year, the house of representatives came to the following resolutions. “That the sole right of giving and granting the money of the people of that province, was vested in them, as their legal representatives; and that the imposition of duties and taxes, by the parliament of Great-Britain, upon a people who are not repre-

* *Adams' History of the Disputes with America*, p. 11. † *Ibid.*

‡ *Gordon, Vol. I. p. 148.*

sented in the house of commons, is absolutely irreconcilable with their rights. That no man can justly take the property of another without his consent; upon which original principle, the right of representation, in the same body, which exercises the power of making laws for levying taxes, one of the main pillars of the British constitution, is evidently founded."*

THE opposition to the claims of the British parliament was not confined to Massachusetts; but it was a prevailing sentiment through the colonies, that taxation and representation were inseparable, and that they could be neither free nor happy, if their property could be taken from them, without their consent. The common people in America reasoned on this subject in a summary way: "If a British parliament," said they, "in which we are unrepresented, and over which we have no control, can take from us any part of our property, by direct taxation, they may take as much as they please, and we have no security for any thing, that remains, but a forbearance, on their part, less likely to be exercised in our favor, as they lighten themselves of the burthens of government, in the same proportion that they impose them upon us."

ON the other hand, Great-Britain contended, that her parliament had supreme power, and was invested with authority to lay taxes on every part of the royal dominions.

As the principle of taxing the colonies had been for some time determined upon, at length Mr. Gren-

* *Gordon, Vol. I. p. 148.*

1765. ville brought into the house of commons his long expected bill, for laying a stamp duty upon America. By this, after passing through the usual forms, it was enacted, "that the instruments of writing, which are in daily use among a commercial people, should be null and void, unless they were executed on stamped paper, or parchment, charged with a duty, imposed by the British parliament."

WHEN the bill was brought in, Mr. Charles Townsend concluded a speech in its favor, with words to the following effect: "And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, until they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence; and protected by our arms; will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burthen which we lie under?"

COL. Barre took up Mr. Townsend's concluding words in a most spirited and inimitable manner, saying, "*They planted by YOUR care!* No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny, to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and among others, to the cruelty of a savage foe, the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of God's earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in

their own country from the hands of them, that ^{1765.} should have been their friends. *They nourished by your indulgence!* They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were perhaps the deputies of deputies to some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men whose behavior, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some, who, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to a court of justice in their own. *They protected by your arms!* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valor, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country, whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me, remember I this day told you so, that the same spirit of freedom, which actuated that people at first, will accompany them still; but prudence forbids me to explain myself farther. God knows I do not speak at this time from any motives of party heat. What I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience, the respectable body of this house may be, yet I claim to know more of America, than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that

1765. country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has ; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated ; but the subject is too delicate. I will say no more.”*

WHEN the question upon the bill, in its last stage, was brought to a vote, there were about 250 for, and 50 against it, in the house of commons.

THE bill met with no opposition in the house of lords, and on the 22d of March, it received the royal assent. The night after it was passed, Dr. Franklin wrote to Mr. Charles Thompson, afterwards secretary of congress, “*The sun of liberty is set ; you must light up the candles of industry and economy.*” Mr. Thompson answered, “He was apprehensive that other lights would be the consequence, and predicted the opposition, that followed.”

THE framers of the stamp-act flattered themselves, that the confusion which would arise upon the disuse of writing, and the insecurity of property, would compel the colonies to use the stamped paper, and, therefore, to pay the taxes imposed. Thus they were induced to pronounce it a law which would execute itself.†

By the terms of the stamp-act, it was not to take place till the first day of November, a period of more than seven months after its passing. This gave the colonists an opportunity for leisurely canvassing the subject, and examining it fully on every side. Virginia led the way in opposition to the stamp-act.

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 57.* † *Gordon.*

Their assembly passed a number of spirited resolves, 1755. asserting their exclusive right to tax the inhabitants of their colony.

“THE colonies of New-England,” says Dr. Ramfay, “exhibited themselves the warmest defenders of liberty, and boldest opposers of the stamp-act. They considered their obligations to their mother country for past favors to be very inconsiderable. They were fully informed, that their forefathers were driven by persecution to the woods of America; and, without any expence to the parent state, had there effected a settlement on bare creation. Their resentment for the invasion of the accustomed right of taxation was not so much mitigated by the recollection of past favors, as it was heightened by the tradition of grievous sufferings, to which their ancestors had been subjected by the rulers of England. The descendants of the exiled, persecuted Puritans of the last century, opposed the stamp-act with the same spirit, with which their forefathers were actuated, when they set themselves against the arbitrary impositions of the house of Stuart.”*

A NEW mode of displaying resentment against the friends of the stamp-act, began in Massachusetts, and was followed by the other colonies.

A FEW gentlemen hung out, early in the morning, on the limb of a large tree, towards the entrance of Boston, two effigies, one designed for the stamp-master, the other for a jack-boot, with a head and horns peeping out at the top. Great

* *Ramfay, Vol. I. p. 61.*

1765. numbers, both from town and country, came to see them. A spirit of enthusiasm was diffused among the spectators. In the evening the whole was cut down and carried in procession by the populace, shouting, "liberty and property forever, no stamps." They next pulled down a new building, lately erected by Mr. Oliver, the stamp-master. They then went to his house, before which they beheaded his effigy, and at the same time broke his windows. Eleven days after, the mob attacked the house of Mr. William Storey, deputy-register of the court of admiralty; and Benjamin Hallowel, comptroller of the customs, and repeated similar excesses. They afterwards proceeded to the house of Mr. Hutchinson, and soon demolished it. They carried off his plate, furniture and apparel, and scattered and destroyed manuscripts and other curious and useful papers, which he had been collecting for thirty years.*

SIMILAR disturbances broke out in the adjacent colonies, nearly about the same period.

As opportunities offered, the assemblies of the colonies generally passed resolutions, asserting their exclusive right to lay taxes on their constituents.†

THE expediency of calling a continental congress, to be composed of deputies from each of the provinces, had early occurred to the people of Massachusetts. The assembly of that province passed a resolution in favor of that measure, and fixed on New-York as the place, and the second Tuesday of October, as the time for holding their first meeting.

* *Ramsay, Vol. 1, p. 65.* † *Ibid, p. 66.*

THE assemblies of Virginia, North-Carolina and Georgia were prevented by their governors, from sending a deputation to this congress. Twenty-eight deputies from Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South-Carolina, met at New-York; and, after mature deliberation, agreed on a declaration of their rights, and a statement of their grievances. They asserted, in energetic terms, their exemption from all taxes not imposed by their own representatives. They also concurred in a petition to the king, a memorial to the house of lords, and a petition to the house of commons. The colonies that were prevented from sending their representatives to this congress, forwarded petitions, similar to those adopted by the deputies who attended.*

WHILST a variety of legal and illegal methods were adopted to oppose the stamp-act, the 1st of November, on which it was to commence its operation, approached. This in Boston was ushered in by a funeral tolling of the bells. Many shops and stores were shut. The effigies of the planners and friends of the stamp-act, were carried about the streets in public derision, and then torn in pieces by the enraged populace. It was remarkable, that though a large crowd were assembled, there was not the least violence or disorder.†

IN New-Hampshire, the morning was ushered in, with tolling all the bells in Portsmouth, New-

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 68.* † *Ibid.*

1765. Castle, and Greenland. In the course of the day, notice was given to the friends of Liberty to attend her funeral. A coffin was prepared, and neatly ornamented, on the lid of which was inscribed the word *Liberty*, in capitals, aged one hundred and forty-five years, computing from the time of our ancestors landing in Plymouth. The funeral procession began from the state-house, attended with two unbraced drums. While the inhabitants, who followed the coffin, were in motion, minute guns were fired, and continued till the corpse arrived at the place of interment. Then an oration in favor of the deceased was pronounced. It was scarcely ended before the corpse was taken up, it having been perceived that some remains of life were left, at which the inscription was immediately altered to "Liberty revived." The bells suddenly changed their melancholy, for a more joyful sound, and satisfaction appeared in every countenance. The whole was conducted with decency, and without injury or insult to any man's person or property.

AT Rhode-Island, the funeral of liberty was attended in a similar manner as in Portsmouth.*

THOUGH the stamp-act was to have operated from the 1st of November, yet most departments of business were conducted as usual, the people having formed the most spirited resolutions to risk all consequences, rather than to use the paper required by law. Whilst these matters were in agitation, the colonists entered into associations against importing British manufactures, till the stamp-act

* *Boston Gazette*, Nov. 31, 1765, p. 266.

should be repealed. By these means they made it ^{1765.} the interest of merchants and manufacturers, to solicit in their favor. In order to remedy the deficiency of British goods, the colonists applied themselves to a variety of domestic manufactures; and foreign luxuries were generally disused.

IN consequence of the rigid observance of these restrictions, multitudes of artificers in England were reduced to great distress, and some of their most flourishing manufactures were, in a great measure, at a stand. An association was entered into, by many of the *sons of liberty*, the name given to those, who were opposed to the stamp-act, by which they agreed "to march with the utmost expedition, at their own proper expence, and with their whole force, to the relief of those, who should be in danger from the stamp-act, or from its promoters and abettors, on account of any thing that may have been done in opposition to its obtaining." This was subscribed by such multitudes in New-York and New-England, that nothing but a repeal could have prevented the immediate commencement of a civil war.*

FROM the decided opposition of the Americans to the stamp-act, it became necessary for Great-Britain to enforce, or repeal it. Both methods of proceeding had supporters. The most distinguished advocates for the colonists were Lord Camden, in the house of peers, and Mr. Pitt, in the house of commons. The former, in energetic language, declared, "My position is this, I re-

* *Ramjay, Vol. I. p. 71.*

1763. peat it, I will maintain it to my last hour, taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature. It is more, it is itself an eternal law of nature. For whatever is a man's own, is absolutely his own. No man has a right to take it from him without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery."

MR. Pitt, with an original boldness of expression, justified the colonists in opposing the stamp-act. "You have no right," said he, "to tax America. I rejoice, that America has resisted. Three millions of our fellow subjects so lost to every sense of virtue, as tamely to give up their liberties, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." He concluded with giving his advice, that the stamp-act be repealed *absolutely, totally, and immediately*; that the reason for the repeal be assigned, that *it was founded on an erroneous principle*. "At the same time," said he, "let the sovereign authority of this country, over the colonies, be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent." The approbation of this illustrious statesman inspired the Americans with courage, and emboldened them at a future period, to resist the tyranny of Great-Britain.*

* See *Life of the Earl of Chatham*.

AFTER much debating, and two protests in 1766. the house of lords, and passing an act called the declaratory act, for securing the dependence of America on the parent country, the repeal of the stamp-act was finally carried the 18th of March. This event occasioned great joy in London. Ships on the river Thames displayed their colors, and houses were illuminated through the city.*

THE intelligence of the repeal of the stamp-act was received in America with the most lively emotions of joy. The colonists recommenced their mercantile intercourse with Great-Britain. Their churches resounded with thanksgivings, and by letters, addresses and other means, they exhibited unequivocal marks of acknowledgment and gratitude.

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 73, 74.*



CHAPTER XXI.

New plan of raising a revenue in America. Determined opposition of the colonies. Their new importation agreement. Arrival of the British troops. The parliament, in an address to the king, applaud the measures taken by the British ministry. In consequence of the non-importation agreement, all the duties are repealed, excepting that on tea. Massacre of the 5th of March. Provision made in Great-Britain for rendering the governor and judges independent of the people. Burning of the Gaspee. Discovery of confidential letters written by governor Hutchinson and others to leading characters in England. Committees of correspondence revived.

THE stamp-act was not repealed on American principles. The declaratory act, which was passed previously to its repeal, annulled the resolutions and acts of the provincial assemblies, in which they had asserted their right to exemption from all taxes, not imposed by their own representatives, and also enacted, “*That the parliament had, and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.*”

1767. AN American revenue was still a favorite object in Great-Britain, and they were desirous of carrying their point without disturbing the public tranquili-

ty. For this purpose, Mr. Charles Townsend, ^{May 13.} chancellor of the exchequer, brought into parliament a bill for granting duties in the British colonies, on glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea. The bill for the new taxes was quickly passed, and transmitted to America the subsequent year. In order ^{1768.} to manage the revenue collected by those duties, the chancellor brought in a bill for establishing a custom-house, and a board of commissioners in America, which also passed into an act at the same time with the former. This board was placed at Boston, among a people, who, it is said, "were of all others, the most jealous of infringements on their privileges."*

THE minister, who planned these duties, might presume, that they were too inconsiderable to give any alarm. But the late discussions occasioned by the stamp-act, had produced among the colonists, not only an animated conviction of their exemption from parliamentary taxation, but a jealousy of the designs of Great-Britain. They considered those small duties as introductory to others, that would be greater. It was now demonstrated by several writers, particularly by Mr. Dickinson, author of the *Pennsylvania Farmer*,† a judicious and spirited pamphlet, which had a rapid and extensive circulation through the colonies, that a small tax, though more specious, was equally dangerous with the stamp-act, as it established a precedent which eventually annihilated American property."‡

* *Gordon, Vol. I. p. 214—216.* † *See Farmer's Letters.*

‡ *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 75—77.*

1768. THE revenue act produced resolves, petitions, addresses and remonstrances, similar to those, with which the colonists opposed the stamp-act. It also gave rise to a second association for suspending farther importation of British manufactures, till these offensive duties should be taken off. Uniformity in these measures was promoted by a circular letter from the assembly of Massachusetts, to the speakers of the other assemblies. This stated the opposition they had made to the late duties, their pernicious consequences, and requested a free communication on public affairs. Most of the provincial assemblies, as they had opportunities of deliberating on the subject, approved of the proceedings of the Massachusetts assembly, and adopted similar methods to obtain redress.*

THE circular letter of the Massachusetts assembly highly irritated the British ministry. Lord Hillsborough, secretary to the American department, wrote letters to the governors of the respective provinces, urging them to exert their influence to prevent the assemblies from taking any notice of it; and he called on the Massachusetts assembly, to rescind their proceedings on that subject.

THE proposition for rescinding was negatived by a majority of *ninety-two* to *seventeen*. Upon which the governor, as the secretary had threatened, immediately dissolved the assembly.

June 10. THE public dissensions at this period were greatly increased, on occasion of the seizure of Mr. Hancock's sloop *Liberty*, for not having entered all the

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 78.*

wines she had brought from Madeira. The popularity of her owner, the name of the sloop, and the general aversion to the board of commissioners, and parliamentary taxation, concurred to inflame the minds of the people. They resented the removal of the sloop from the wharf, as implying an apprehension of a rescue. They used every method in their power to interrupt the officers in the execution of their business, and numbers swore they would be revenged. Three of the commissioners escaped with the utmost hazard of their lives. They attacked the houses of the other commissioners, destroyed the collector's boats, and obliged the custom-house officers to take refuge in castle William, situated at the entrance of the harbor.*

THE constant disagreement between the commissioners and the inhabitants of Boston, induced the friends of the American revenue to solicit the protection of a regular force, to be stationed in that town. In compliance with their wishes, his majesty ordered two regiments, and some armed vessels, to repair thither, for supporting and assisting the officers of the customs in the execution of their duty.†

WHEN it was reported in Boston that one or more regiments were ordered thither, the inhabitants of that town were exceedingly alarmed. A town-meeting was called, and a committee appointed to request the governor to convene a general assembly. He positively refused to comply with their request, till he received his majesty's com-

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 79.* † *Ibid, p. 80.*

1768. mand for that purpose. In consequence of his re-
 Sep. 13. fusal, some spirited resolutions were adopted. In
 particular, it was voted, that the select-men of Bos-
 ton should wait on the select-men of other towns,
 to propose, that a convention be held of deputies
 from each, to meet at Faneuil-hall, in Boston,
 September 22. It was afterwards voted, "That
 as there is apprehension in the minds of many of
 an approaching war with France, those inhabitants,
 who are not provided, be requested to furnish them-
 selves immediately with arms."*

NINETY-SIX towns, and eight districts, agreed to
 this proposal, and appointed deputies to attend a
 convention; but the town of Hatfield refused its
 concurrence. When the deputies met, they dis-
 claimed all legislative authority, advised the people
 to pay the greatest deference to government, and
 to wait patiently for a redress of their grievances,
 from his majesty's wisdom and moderation. Hav-
 ing stated to the world the causes of their meeting,
 and an account of their proceedings, they dissolved
 themselves, after a short session, and returned to
 their respective places of abode.

WITHIN a day after the convention broke up,
 the expected regiments arrived, and were peaceably
 received, contrary, as is supposed, to the wishes
 of those, who were inimical to American liberty.
 That party, probably, hoped for an opportunity of
 giving the Bostonians some naval and military cor-
 rection.

1769. WHILST the Americans exhibited a determined
 resolution to resist the encroachments of arbitrary

* *Ramsay, Vol. I, p. 81. Gordon, Vol. I. p. 245—249.*

power, the British ministry appeared obstinately bent upon subverting their privileges. In February, both houses of parliament concurred in a joint address to his majesty, in which they applauded the measures he had taken; gave the strongest assurances that they would effectually support his government in Massachusetts-Bay. Finally, they proposed, the bringing of delinquents from Massachusetts, to be tried at a tribunal in Great-Britain.*

THE province of Massachusetts continued with undaunted firmness to assert their rights. The other colonies followed their example; and entered into a similar non-importation agreement.

THIS agreement had now lasted some time, and by degrees became general. In consequence of which, the manufactures in Great-Britain experienced a renewal of the distresses, which followed the adoption of similar resolutions in 1765. A repeal of those duties was, therefore, solicited by the same influence which had procured the repeal of the stamp-act. The rulers of Great-Britain acted without decision. Though anxious to establish parliamentary supremacy, yet they were afraid to stem the torrent of opposition. At length they consented to repeal all the duties, imposed in 1767, excepting that of three pence per pound on tea.

THE declaratory-act, and the reservation of the duty on tea, left the cause of contention between the two countries undecided. The stationing a military force in Massachusetts was (as might be expected) attended with serious consequences. The

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 82.*

1770. royal army had been taught to look upon the inhabitants of that province as a factious turbulent people, who aimed at renouncing all subordination to Great-Britain; they, on the other hand, were accustomed to regard the soldiers as instruments of tyranny, sent on purpose to destroy their liberties.*

ON the 2d of March, an affray took place near Mr. Gray's rope-walk, between a private foldier of the 29th regiment, and an inhabitant of Boston; the former was supported by his comrades, the latter by the rope-makers, till several on both sides were involved in the consequences. On the 5th, a more dreadful scene ensued; the king's foldiers fired upon the mob, who were collected to insult them, killed three, and dangerously wounded five of the number. The town was immediately in commotion, and nothing but an engagement to remove the troops, together with the advice of moderate men, prevented the inhabitants from falling on the soldiers. In order to express their indignation at this event, the killed were buried in one vault, in a most respectful manner. Captain Preston, who commanded this party of foldiers, was committed to prison, and afterwards tried. A British author observes on this occasion, "Let it be remembered to the praise of American virtue, that on this trial, notwithstanding popular prejudice and apprehension, the captain and six of his men were acquitted, two only being found guilty of manslaughter."† It appeared on

* *Ramsay, Vol. I p. 85—90.*

† *Hist. of the American Revolution from the Encyclopedia, p 126.*

the trial, that the foldiers were abufed, infulted, 1770.
 threatened and pelted before they fired. It was
 alfo proved, that only feven guns were fired by
 the eight prifoners. Thefe circumftances induced
 the jury to make a favorable verdict. The refult
 of this verdict reflected great honor on John
 Adams and Jofiah Quincy, Efqrs. the prifoners'
 council; gentlemen who had invariably devoted
 the warmeft zeal, and the moft fplendid talents,
 to the caufe of freedom; and alfo on the integrity
 of the jury, who ventured to give an upright ver-
 dict, in defiance of popular opinions.*

THE confequences of this tragical event were 1771.
 made fubfervient to important purpofes. Eloquent
 orators were fucceffively employed to deliver an
 annual oration on this occafion. Thefe orations
 were expreffed in energetic language; and height-
 ened the enthufiafm for liberty, which pervaded
 the great body of the people.

AT this period, the inhabitants of Maffachufetts
 were highly irritated, by the provifion which was
 made in Great-Britain, for paying the falaries of the
 governor and judges by the crown, and thus ren-
 dering them independent of the people. This was
 refented as a dangerous innovation, as an infrac-
 tion of their charter, and as deftroying that balance
 of power, which is effential to free government.†

WHILST the province of Maffachufetts was ac- 1772.
 tive in refifting the encroachments made upon their
 liberties, the inhabitants of Rhode-Ifland manifef-
 ted a fimilar fpirit. The Gaspee, an armed

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 91.* † *Ibid.*

1772. schooner, which had been stationed at Providence, was burnt, and lieutenant Dudington, the commander, was wounded by a party, who were exasperated at the vigilance he had exhibited in the execution of his office. A reward of five hundred pounds, together with a pardon, if claimed by an accomplice, was offered by proclamation for discovering and apprehending any of the persons concerned; but so agreeable was this action to the people, that not one man was found to accept the offered reward.*

1773. WHILST successive irritations kept alive the contention between Great-Britain and the colonies, a species of warfare was carried on in Massachusetts, between the royal governors and provincial assemblies, and each watched the other with strong jealousy and distrust. This year the public disturbances in that province, were greatly heightened by a discovery of some confidential letters, written by governor Hutchinson, lieutenant-governor Oliver and others, to leading characters in England, complaining of the behavior of the province, recommending vigorous measures against them; asserting that "*there must be an abridgment of what is called British liberty; and that there was a necessity of changing the chartered systems of government, to secure their obedience.*" These letters fell into the hands of Dr. Franklin, agent of Massachusetts, who transmitted them to Boston. The indignation of the people was excited to such a degree, that the house of assembly dispatched a peti-

* Gordon, Vol. I. p. 311, 312.

tion and remonstrance to the king, in which they 1773-
charged the governor and lieutenant-governor with
betraying their trust, and giving false information.
They also requested their speedy removal from
their places.

THIS petition and remonstrance was transmitted
to England, and discussed before his majesty's pri-
vy-council. After an hearing before that board,
the governor and lieutenant-governor were acquit-
ted.*

IN order to cement a union among the colonies,
a committee of correspondence was, at this event-
ful period, revived in Boston, Connecticut, New-
Hampshire and Rhode-Island. This institution in-
creased their resolution to resist the impositions of
the British ministry.

* *Ramsay. Vol. I. p. 92. See Speeches of governor Hutchinson
to the Council of Massachusetts-Bay.*



CHAPTER XXII.

The East-India company send tea to America. The tea thrown into the sea at Boston. Proceedings of the British parliament. Boston port-bill, and other arbitrary acts. Measures taken by Massachusetts to cement the union of the colonies. General Gage appointed governor and commander in chief. Contributions raised for the distresses of Boston. Generous behavior of Salem and Marblehead. Opposition of the people to the new counsellors. General Gage fortifies Boston neck. Of the spirited behavior of Massachusetts. That province calls a provincial congress. Of their proceedings.

AT the period when the duties on glass, paper, and painters' colors were repealed; the only reason assigned by the British minister for retaining that on *tea*, was to support the parliament's right of taxation. The Americans, therefore, to be consistent with themselves, in denying their right, discontinued the importation of that commodity. The American merchants, however, found means of supplying their countrymen with this article, (smuggled from countries to which the power of Britain did not extend.*

THE East-India company, feeling the bad effects of the colonial smuggling trade, in the large quantities of tea, which remained in their warehouses

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 95.*

unfold, requested the repeal of the three pence per pound in America; and offered that, on its being complied with, government should retain six pence in the pound on the exportation. Thus the company presented the happiest opportunity, that could have been offered, for honorably removing the cause of difference with America, without infringing the claims on either side. The minister was requested and entreated, by a gentleman of great weight in the company, and a member of parliament, to embrace this method; but it was obstinately rejected.

NEW contrivances were set on foot, to introduce the tea, attended with the duty, into all the colonies. Various intrigues and solicitations were used to induce the East-India company to undertake this rash and foolish business. It was protested against, as contrary to the principle of the company's monopoly; but the power of the ministry prevailed, and the insignificant duty of three pence per pound on tea was doomed to be the fatal cause of contention between Great-Britain and her colonies.

A BILL was passed into an act, for enabling the East-India company to export their own teas; in consequence of which they sent six hundred chests of tea to Philadelphia, the like quantity to New-York and to Boston, besides what was consigned to other places. Several ships were also freighted for different colonies, and agents appointed for the disposal of the commodity.*

* *Gordon, Vol. I. p. 324, 325.*

1773. THE first opposition to the execution of the scheme adopted by the East-India company, began with the American merchants. They saw a profitable branch of their trade likely to be lost, and the benefits of it to be transferred to people in Great-Britain. They also felt for the wound, that would be inflicted on their country's claim of exemption from parliamentary taxation. The great body of the people, from principles of the purest patriotism, were induced to second their wishes. They considered the whole scheme, as calculated to seduce them into an acquiescence with the views of parliament, for raising an American revenue.

THE colonists reasoned with themselves, that as the duty and the price of the commodity were inseparably blended, if the tea was sold, every purchaser would pay a tax imposed by the British parliament. To obviate this evil, and to prevent the liberties of a great country from being sacrificed by inconsiderate purchasers, measures were adopted to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The tea consignees, appointed by the East-India company, were, in several places, compelled to relinquish their appointments, and no others could be found who dared to act in their capacity. The pilots in the river Delaware were warned not to conduct any of the tea-ships into their harbor. The whole cargoes of tea were returned from New-York and Philadelphia, and that, which was sent to Charleston, was landed and stored, but not offered for sale.*

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 97.*

It was otherwise in Massachusetts. The tea-ships, designed for the supply of Boston, were consigned to the sons, cousins and particular friends of governor Hutchinson. When they were called upon to resign, they answered, "that it was out of their power." The collector refused to give a clearance, unless the vessels were discharged of dutiable articles. The governor refused to give a pass for the vessels, unless properly qualified from the custom-house. The governor likewise requested admiral Montague to guard the passages out of the harbor, and gave orders to suffer no vessels, coasters excepted, to pass the fortress from the town, without a pass signed by himself. From a combination of these circumstances, the return of the tea-vessels from Boston, was rendered impossible. The sons of liberty were apprehensive that if this article was landed and stored, it would obtain a sale; and were induced to venture upon a desperate remedy. About seventeen persons, dressed as Indians, repaired to the tea-ships, broke open three hundred and forty-two chests, and, without doing any other damage, discharged their contents into the water.*

INTELLIGENCE of these proceedings was, on the 7th of March, communicated, in a message from the throne, to both houses of parliament. In this communication, the conduct of the colonists was represented as not only obstructing the commerce of Great-Britain, but as subversive of its constitution. The message was accompanied with

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 99.*


1774. a number of papers, containing copies and extracts of letters from the several royal governors and others, from which it appeared that the opposition to the sale of the tea was not peculiar to Massachusetts, but common to all the colonies.*

It was well known that the throwing of the tea into the water did not originate with the persons, who were the immediate instruments of that act of violence; that the whole had been concerted at a public meeting; and was, in a qualified sense, the act of the town. The parliament of Great-Britain were transported with indignation against the people of Boston; and considered this a proper moment for humbling them, and taking revenge for the opposition, which they had long exhibited against their authority.

DISREGARDING the forms of her own constitution, by which none are to be condemned unheard, or punished without a trial, a bill was finally passed, on the 17th day after it was first moved for, by which the port of Boston was virtually blocked up; for it was legally precluded from the privilege of landing and discharging, or of lading and shipping of goods, wares and merchandize.

SOON after a bill was introduced, "for the better regulating the government of the Massachusetts-Bay." The purport of it was, to alter the constitution of the province, to take the whole executive power out of the hands of the democratic part, and to vest the nomination of counsellors, judges, and magistrates of all kinds, including sheriffs, in the

* *Ramsay, Vol. I p. 101.*

crowns, and in some cases in the king's governor; 1774.
and all to be removeable at the royal pleasure.* 

THE ministry of Great-Britain were apprehensive that riots would take place in attempting the execution of the above mentioned acts. A bill was therefore passed "for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the Massachusetts-Bay." This bill provided, that in case any person was indicted in that province for murder, or any other capital offence, and it should appear to the governor, that the fact was committed in the exercise or aid of magistracy in suppressing tumults and riots, and that a fair trial could not be had in the province, he should send the person so indicted, to any other colony, or to Great-Britain, to be tried.†

BEFORE the parliament concluded this memorable session, they passed an act "for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, in North-America." By this act, the government of that province was made to extend southward to the Ohio, westward, to the banks of the Mississippi, and northward, to the boundary of the Hudson's-bay company. The principal objects of this act were, to form a legislative council for all the affairs of the province, except taxation, which council should be appointed by the crown; the office to be held during pleasure, and his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects to be


* *Gordon, Vol. I. p. 353.* † *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 110.*

1774. entitled to a place therein; to establish the French laws, and a trial without jury in civil cases, and the English laws, with a trial by jury, in criminal; to secure to the Roman Catholic clergy, except the regulars, the legal enjoyment of their estates, and their tithes from all, who were of their religion.

No sooner were these oppressive laws published in America, than they cemented the union of the colonies almost beyond the possibility of dissolving it, and heightened the opposition to the arbitrary proceedings of the British ministry. Copies of a vote, which the town of Boston passed, soon after they received the news of the port-bill, to engage the other colonies to stop all importation from Great-Britain and the West-Indies, till the act for blocking up this harbor be repealed, were transmitted from state to state. Pamphlets, essays, addresses, and newspaper dissertations, were daily presented to the public, proving that Massachusetts was suffering in the common cause, and that interest and policy, as well as good neighborhood, required the united exertions of all the colonies, in support of that much injured province.*

In the three first months, which followed the shutting up of the port of Boston, the inhabitants of the colonies, in hundreds of small circles, as well as in their provincial assemblies and congresses, expressed their abhorrence of the late proceedings of the British parliament against Massachusetts, their concurrence in the proposed measure of appointing deputies for a general congress, and their willing-

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 112, 113.*

ness to do and suffer whatever should be judged ^{1774.} conducive to the establishment of their liberties. 

WHILE the combination of the other colonies to support Boston was gaining strength, new matter of dissension daily took place in Massachusetts. The resolution for shutting the port of Boston, was no sooner taken, than it was determined to order a military force to that town. General Gage, the commander in chief of the royal forces in North-America, was also sent thither in the additional capacity of governor of Massachusetts. He arrived in Boston on the third day after the inhabitants received the first intelligence of the Boston port-bill. Though the people were irritated by that measure, and though their republican jealousy was hurt by the combination of the civil and military character in one person, yet the general was received with all the honors, which had been usually paid to his predecessors. Soon after his arrival, two regiments of foot, with a detachment of artillery and some cannon, were landed in Boston. These troops were, by degrees, reinforced with others from Ireland, New-York, Halifax and Quebec.*

THE governor announced, that he had the king's particular command for holding the general court at Salem, after the 1st of June. When that eventful day arrived, the act for shutting up the port of Boston commenced its operation. This day was devoutly kept at Williamsburgh, in Virginia, as a day of fasting and humiliation. In

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 122.*

1774. Philadelphia, it was solemnized with every manifestation of public calamity. It was observed in other places as a day of mourning.

THE inhabitants of Boston, who had hitherto lived in affluence, were, by the bill for blocking up their port, deprived of all means of subsistence. They sustained this fatal blow with inflexible fortitude; and their determination to persist in the same line of conduct, which had been the occasion of their sufferings, was unabated.

LIBERAL contributions for the distressed of the Bostonians, had been raised through America; and they were regarded as sufferers for the common cause of liberty. The inhabitants of Salem, in an address to governor Gage, concluded with these noble and disinterested expressions: "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit. But nature, in the formation of our harbor, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, and lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge the thought of seizing on wealth, and raising our fortunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbors."*

THE people of Marblehead generously offered the merchants of Boston the use of their harbor, wharves, warehouses, and also their personal attendance on the lading or unlading of their goods, free from all expence.

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 123. Gordon.*

THE Bostonians were, by these measures, encouraged and supported in their opposition to British tyranny. Their committee of correspondence apprehended themselves so fixed in the good opinion of the public, that they ventured to frame and publish an agreement entitled *a solemn covenant*. The subscribers of this bound themselves to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great-Britain, till the late obnoxious laws were repealed, and the colony of Massachusetts restored to its chartered rights.*

GEN. Gage attempted, in vain, to counteract this plan by a proclamation, which declared it an unlawful and traitorous combination; and threatened all who subscribed or countenanced it with penalties of legal prosecution.

THE people continued to defend their privileges with inflexible resolution. Several of the new counsellors declined an acceptance of the appointment. Those who accepted were obliged to resign their offices, in order to preserve their lives and properties from the fury of the multitude. The new judges were rendered incapable of proceeding in their official duty. Upon opening the courts, the juries refused to be sworn, or to act in any manner, either under them, or in conformity to the late regulations. In some places, the people assembled, and filled the court-houses and avenues to them in such a manner, that neither the judges, nor their officers could obtain entrance; and upon the sheriff's commanding them to make way for

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 127.*

1774. the court, they answered, "that they knew no court independent of the ancient laws of their country, and to none other would they submit."

THE proceedings and apparent dispositions of the people, together with the military preparations which were daily made through the province, induced General Gage to fortify the neck of land which joins Boston to the continent. He also seized upon the powder which was lodged in the arsenal at Charlestown.*

THIS excited a most violent and universal ferment. Several thousands of the people assembled at Cambridge, and with difficulty were they restrained from marching directly to Boston, to demand a delivery of the powder, with a resolution, in case of refusal, to attack the troops.

THE people thus assembled, proceeded to lieutenant-governor Oliver's house, and to the houses of several of the new counsellors, and obliged them to resign, and to declare that they would no more act under the laws lately enacted. In the confusion of these transactions, a rumor was spread, that the royal fleet and troops were firing upon the town of Boston. This was probably designed by the popular leaders on purpose to ascertain what assistance they might expect from the country, in case of extremities. The result exceeded their most sanguine expectations. In less than twenty-four hours there were upwards of thirty thousand men in arms, and marching towards the capital. Other risings of the people took place in

*. *Ramsey, Vol. I. p. 127.*

different parts of the colony, and their violence was such, that in a short time the new counsellors, the commissioners of the customs, and all who had taken an active part in favor of Great-Britain, were obliged to screen themselves in Boston.* 1774.

ABOUT this period, the governor's company of cadets, consisting of Boston gentlemen, disbanded themselves, and returned him the standard he presented to them upon his arrival; on account of his depriving Mr. Hancock, who was colonel of the corps, of his commission. A similar instance also occurred, upon a provincial colonel's acceptance of a seat in the new council, in consequence of which, twenty-four officers of his regiment resigned their commissions in one day.†

ABOUT this time, delegates from every town and district in the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the shire town, had a meeting, in which they prefaced a number of spirited resolves, with a general declaration, "that no obedience was due from the province to either, or any part of said acts, but that they should be rejected, as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America.

GOVERNOR Gage had issued writs for holding a general assembly at Salem; but subsequent events, and the violence which every where prevailed, made him think it expedient to counteract the writs by a proclamation for suspending the meeting of the members. This measure, however, was deemed illegal; the assembly convened at Salem,

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 128.* † *Gordon, Vol. I. p. 389.*

1774. and, after waiting a day for the governor, voted themselves into a provincial congress, of which Mr. Hancock was chosen president. A committee was instantly appointed, who waited on the governor, with a remonstrance concerning the fortifications of Boston neck. In the governor's reply, he expressed indignation at the idea that the lives, liberties or property of the people could be endangered by English troops, and warned the assembly to desist from their proceedings, which he stiled illegal and unconstitutional.*

THE governor's admonitions were unavailing. The provincial congress appointed a committee to draw up a plan for the immediate defence of the province. It was resolved to enlist a number of the inhabitants under the name of *minute-men*, who were to be under obligations to turn out at a minute's warning. Three general officers were elected to command these minute-men and the militia, in case they should be called out into action. A committee of safety, and a committee of supplies were appointed. The first was invested with an authority to assemble the militia when they thought proper, and were to recommend to the committee of supplies the purchase of such articles as the public exigencies required; the last were limited to the small sum of fifteen thousand six hundred and twenty-seven pounds, fifteen shillings, sterling, which was all the money at first voted to oppose the power and wealth of Great-Britain. Under this authority, and with these

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 129.*

means, the committees of safety, and of supplies, 1774. acting in concert, laid in a quantity of stores, partly at Worcester, and partly at Concord.

AFTER a short adjournment, the same congress met again, and soon after resolved to get in readiness twelve thousand men, to act on any emergency, and that a fourth part of the militia should be enlisted as minute-men, and receive pay. John Thomas and William Heath were appointed general officers. They also sent persons to New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island and Connecticut, to inform them of the measures they had taken, and to request their co-operation in collecting an army of twenty thousand men. Committees from these several colonies met, with a committee from the provincial congress of Massachusetts, and settled their plans. The proper period of commencing opposition to General Gage's troops, was determined to be, whenever they marched out with their baggage, ammunition and artillery.*

THROUGHOUT this whole season, the provincial congress exercised all the semblance of government which existed in Massachusetts. From their coincidence with the prevailing disposition of the people, their resolutions had the weight and efficacy of laws. Under the simple style of recommendations, they organized the militia, made ordinances respecting public monies, and such further regulations as were necessary for preserving order, and for defending themselves against the British troops.†

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 130.* † *Ibid.*

1774. **DURING** these transactions in Massachusetts, effectual measures had been taken by the colonies for convening a continental congress, which was, at this period, in session at Philadelphia. The proceedings of this august assembly will be related in the subsequent chapter.



CHAPTER XXIII.

The continental congress convened at Philadelphia. Of their proceedings. Measures taken by the British parliament. The colonies prepare for war.

THE measures pursued by the British ^{1774.} ministry for subjecting America to parliamentary authority, in all cases whatever, united the twelve colonies, from New-Hampshire to South-Carolina, inclusively, into a compact body. Within four months from the day in which the first intelligence of the Boston port-bill reached America, the deputies of eleven provinces had convened in Philadelphia, and in four days more, by the arrival of delegates from North-Carolina, there was a complete representation of twelve colonies, containing nearly three millions of people, disseminated over two hundred and sixty thousand square miles of territory. Some of the delegates were appointed by the constitutional assemblies; in other provinces, where they were embarrassed by royal governors, the appointments were made in voluntary meetings of the people.*

ONE half of the deputies which formed the congress of 1774 were lawyers. Gentlemen of that profession had acquired the confidence of the inhabitants, by their exertions in the common cause. The previous measures in the respective provinces had

* *Ramsay, Vol. 1, p. 133.*

1774. been planned and carried into effect, more by lawyers than by any other order of men. The novelty and importance of this assembly excited universal attention; and their transactions rendered them truly respectable. “Perhaps,” says Dr. Ramsay; “there never was a body of delegates more faithful to the interests of their constituents than the congress of 1774. The public voice elevated none to a seat in that august assembly, but such as, in addition to considerable abilities, possessed that ascendancy over the minds of their fellow citizens, which can neither be acquired by birth, nor purchased by wealth.”*

ON the meeting of congress, they chose Peyton Randolph their president, and Charles Thompson their secretary. They agreed, as one of their rules of doing business, that no entry should be made on their journals of any propositions discussed before them, to which they did not finally assent.†

THE Suffolk resolutions were transmitted to congress, after which that assembly unanimously resolved, that “they most thoroughly approved the wisdom and fortitude with which opposition to wicked ministerial measures had been hitherto conducted in Massachusetts, and recommended to them perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct.”

IN their subsequent resolutions they declared, “that if the late acts of parliament shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, all America ought to support the inhabitants of Mas-

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 133.* † *Ibid, p. 134.*

Massachusetts-Bay in their opposition: that, if it be ^{1774.} found absolutely necessary to remove the people of Boston into the country, all America ought to contribute toward recompensing them for the injury they may sustain: and that every person, who shall accept or act under any commission or authority derived from the act of parliament, changing the form of government, and violating the charter, ought to be held in detestation."

CONGRESS next addressed a letter to General Gage, in which, having stated the grievances of the people of Massachusetts colony, they informed him of the unalterable determination of all the other provinces to support their brethren, and to oppose the British acts of parliament; that they themselves were appointed to watch over the liberties of America. They entreated him to desist from military operations, lest hostilities might be brought on, and frustrate all hopes of reconciliation with the parent state.

CONGRESS, soon after their meeting, agreed upon a declaration of their rights. These they summed up in the privileges belonging to Englishmen. They declared, "that the foundation of English liberty, and all free government, was a right in the people to participate in their legislative council, and that as the English colonists were not, and could not be properly represented by the British parliament, they were entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, in all cases of taxation and internal polity,

1774. subject only to the negative of their sovereign." They then run the line, between the supremacy of parliament, and the independency of the colonial legislatures, by provisos and restrictions, in the following words. "But from the necessity of the case, a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal and external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent."*

THEY proceeded, in behalf of themselves and constituents, to insist on the foregoing articles as their indisputable rights, which could not be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged by any power whatever, without their consent, by their representatives, in their several provincial legislatures.

CONGRESS then resolved, that sundry acts of parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great-Britain and the American colonies. The Canada act, they particularly pointed out, as being extremely inimical to the colonies, by whose assistance it had been conquered.†

* *Extract from the proceedings of the continental congress, p. 8.*

† *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 140.*

THEY then entered into an association, by which ¹⁷⁷⁴⁻ they bound themselves and their constituents, to discontinue the importation of British goods, till the late obnoxious acts of parliament were repealed.

THEIR next proceedings were to frame a petition to the king, an address to the British nation, to the colonies, and to the French inhabitants of Canada. A British author observes, that, "those papers were executed with uncommon energy and address; and in vigor of sentiment, and the nervous language of patriotism, would not have disgraced any assembly, that ever existed."*

CONGRESS having finished their deliberations in less than eight weeks, dissolved themselves, after giving their opinion, "That another congress should be held on the 10th of May next ensuing, at Philadelphia, unless the redress of their grievances should be previously obtained."

THE resolutions of the continental congress were sanctioned with the universal approbation of the provincial congress and subordinate committees, which were every where instituted; and institutions were formed under their direction, to carry their resolves into effect.†

THE congressional proceedings reached Great-^{1775.} Britain soon after the new parliament was convened. The speech from the throne, at the meeting of parliament, represented the conduct of the Americans, particularly the inhabitants of Massachusetts-Bay, in the most atrocious light. A majority of both houses were resolved to compel the

* See these addresses in the proceedings of congress. See *Life of the Earl of Chatham*. † *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 150.*

1775. colonies to obedience; but a respectable minority in their favor were strongly seconded by the merchants and manufacturers through the kingdom, and particularly by those of London and Bristol.

LORD Chatham zealously espoused the cause of the Americans; and exerted his unrivalled eloquence in the house of lords, in order to dissuade his countrymen from attempting to subjugate them by force of arms. He introduced the subject with some general observations on the importance of the American contest. He enlarged on the dangerous events that were coming on the nation, in consequence of the present dispute. He arraigned the conduct of the ministers with great severity; reprobated their whole system of American politics; and moved that an address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech him to dispatch orders to General Gage, to remove his majesty's forces from the town of Boston. His lordship supported this motion in a pathetic and animated speech; but it was rejected by a great majority.*

THE petitions from the English merchants were presented, and consigned to what the opposition termed, *the committee of oblivion*.

A PETITION was offered by Mr. Bollan, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, three American agents, setting forth, that they were authorized by the American continental congress, to present a petition from the congress to the king; which his majesty had referred to that house. They were

* *Ramsay, Vol. 1. p. 157.*

enabled, they said, to throw great light upon the subject; and prayed to be heard at the bar in support of it. Their application was treated with the utmost indifference and contempt. The motion for receiving the petition was rejected by a large majority.*

LORD Chatham persevered in the prosecution of his conciliatory scheme with America, and accordingly brought into the house of lords the outlines of a bill, which he hoped would answer that salutary purpose, under the title of "A provisional act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority, and superintending power of Great-Britain over the colonies."†

THIS bill legalized the holding a congress in the ensuing May, for the double purpose of recognizing the supreme legislative authority, and superintending power of parliament over the colonies, and for making a free grant to the king, his heirs and successors, of a certain and perpetual revenue, subject to the dispositions of parliament, and applicable to the alleviation of the national debt. On these conditions, it restrained the powers of the admiralty courts to their ancient limits, and without repealing, suspended for a limited time, those acts, which had been complained of by congress. It proposed to place the judges in America on the same footing, as to holding their salaries and offices, with those in England, and securing to the colonies all the privileges, franchises and immuni-

* *Gordon, Vol. I. p. 451. Lendrum, Vol. I. p. 329.*

† *See Life of the Earl of Chatham, p. 228-230.*

1775. ties, granted by their several charters and constitutions. His lordship introduced this plan with a speech, in which he explained and supported every part of it, in energetic language. The plan proposed by Lord Chatham was rejected by a majority of 64 to 32, and without being admitted to lie on the table.*

AFTER long and warm debates, and one or two protests, the ministerial plans were carried by great majorities. In consequence thereof, on the 9th of February, a joint address from both lords and commons was presented to the king, in which "they returned thanks for the communication of the papers relative to the state of the British colonies in America, and gave it as their opinion, that a rebellion actually existed in the province of Massachusetts, and beseeched his majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature, and begged in the most solemn manner to assure him, that it was their fixed resolution, at the hazard of their lives and properties, to support his majesty in the maintenance of the just rights of the crown, and the two houses of parliament."†

Soon after this address, the New-England colonies were prohibited, by an act of parliament, from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland; and they were restrained from any trade to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West-Indies. The reasons assign-

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 151, 152, 153.* † *Ibid, p. 157.*

ed by Lord North for extending this bill to New-Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode-Island, were, that they had aided and abettèd their offending neighbors, and were so near to them, that the intentions of parliament would be frustrated, unless they were comprehended in the proposed restraints.*

THE fishery bill was speedily followed by another, for restraining the trade and commerce of the colonies and provinces of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South-Carolina. The reasons assigned for this were similar to those, which were offered for restraining the trade of the New-England colonies.

A RESPECTABLE minority in parliament continued to oppose these oppressive acts; and in the course of the debates, Lord North introduced a conciliatory proposition, permitting each colony separately to offer a certain income to government, which should be raised by the authority of the general assemblies of the colonies; and which, if approved, might be accepted in lieu of a parliamentary revenue. When this plan was transmitted to America, it was universally rejected.

As matters had proceeded so far, as to preclude all hopes of accommodation with Great-Britain, the New-England colonies were assiduous in preparing for war. The distrust and animosity between the people and the army stationed in Boston increased. From every appearance it became daily more evident, that arms must ultimately decide the contest.†

* *Ramsay, Vol 1. p. 159.* † *Ibid, p. 162.*

1775. DR. Ramsay remarks, that “it was a fortunate circumstance for the colonies, that the royal army was posted in New-England. The people of that northern country have their passions more under the command of reason and interest, than in the southern latitudes, where a warmer sun excites a greater degree of irascibility. One rash offensive action against the royal forces, at this early period, though successful, might have done great mischief to the cause of America. It would have lost them European friends, and weakened the disposition of the other colonies to assist them. The patient and the politic New-England-men, fully sensible of their situation, submitted to many insults, and bridled their resentment. In civil wars or revolutions, it is a matter of much consequence who strikes the first blow. The compassion of the world is in favor of the attacked, and the displeasure of good men on those, who are the first to embroil their hands in human blood. For the space of nine months after the arrival of Gen. Gage, the behavior of the people of Boston is particularly worthy of imitation, by those, who wish to overturn established government. They conducted their opposition with exquisite address. They avoided every kind of outrage and violence, preserving peace and good order among themselves; successfully engaged the other colonies to make a common cause with them, and counteracted General Gage so effectually, as to prevent his doing any thing for his royal master, while by

patience and moderation they screened themselves from censure. Though resolved to bear as long as prudence and policy dictated, they were all the time preparing for the last extremity. They were furnishing themselves with arms and ammunition, and training their militia.”* 1775.

ON the 26th of February, General Gage, having received intelligence that some military stores were deposited in Salem, dispatched a party to seize them. Their road was obstructed by a river, over which was a draw-bridge. This the people had pulled up, and refused to let down; upon which the soldiers seized a boat to ferry them over; but the people cut out her bottom. Hostilities would immediately have commenced, had it not been for the interposition of a clergyman,† who represented to the military, on the one hand, the folly of opposing such numbers; and to the people, on the other, that, as the day was far spent, the military could not execute their design, so that they might without any fear leave them the possession of the draw-bridge. This was complied with; and the soldiers, after having remained for some time at the bridge, returned without executing their orders.‡

IN this alarming situation of affairs, the colonies in general were making preparations for hostilities; and the inhabitants of the Massachusetts province used every device for conveying safely from Boston into the country, all kinds of military articles, which might be wanted in the expected war.

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 187.* † *Rev. Thomas Bernard,*

‡ *Gordon, Vol. I. p. 407.*

IN reviewing the dispute between Great-Britain and America, which for fourteen years was conducted by the pen, or at most by associations, and legislative acts, we are led to admire the determined resolution, with which the colonies resisted every encroachment on their privileges. Many of the productions of that period discover great energy of mind, and political information; and it ought to be remembered, to the honor of the Americans, that, whilst they made a spirited opposition to the arbitrary views of Britain, their firmness was blended with prudence and moderation. Their sagacity also in discovering designs against their liberties, before they were fully developed, is greatly to be admired. It has been justly observed, that “the annals of other nations have produced instances of successful struggles against a yoke previously imposed; but the records of history do not furnish an example of a people, whose penetration had anticipated the operations of tyranny; and whose spirit had disdained to suffer an infringement upon their liberties.”*

* See *John Q. Adams' Oration*, July 4, 1793, p. 10.



CHAPTER XXIV.

The commencement of hostilities at Lexington. General Gage receives the arms of the inhabitants of Boston—fails in his engagement. Boston invested by a provincial army. Public fast. Ticonderoga and Crown-Point taken. Reinforcements arrive from Great-Britain. Bunker's-hill battle. Burning of Charlestown, and death of General Warren.

THE important æra, at length, arrived, in which the Americans had no alternative, but to submit to the impositions of arbitrary power, or refer their cause to the decision of arms. 1775.

STORES had been deposited at Worcester and Concord, for the support of the provincial army. To the latter of those places, which was about twenty miles from Boston, General Gage sent a detachment of British troops, in order to destroy the stores, and, as was reported, to seize Mr. Hancock and Mr. Samuel Adams, leading characters in the opposition. Apr. 18.

THE general wished to accomplish his design without bloodshed, and planned the expedition with the greatest secrecy, to prevent the country from being alarmed. At eleven o'clock at night, eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, the flower of the royal army, embarked at the common, landed at Phipps' farm, and marched for

* *Ramsay, Vol. 1. p. 187.*

1775. Concord, under the command of lieut. col. Smith. The utmost precaution could not prevent intelligence of these movements from being transmitted to the country militia.

ABOUT two in the morning, 130 of the Lexington militia had assembled to oppose them; but the air being chilly, and intelligence respecting the regulars uncertain, they were dismissed, with orders to appear again at beat of drum. About 70 collected a second time, between four and five o'clock in the morning, and the British troops soon after made their appearance. Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced corps, rode up to them, and called out, "disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse." They still continued in a body, on which he advanced nearer, discharged his pistol, and ordered his soldiers to fire. This was done with a huzza. A dispersion of the militia was the consequence; but the firing of the regulars was, nevertheless, continued. Individuals, finding they were fired upon, though dispersing, returned the fire. Three or four of the militia were killed on the green. A few more were killed, after they had begun to disperse. The royal detachment proceeded to Concord, and executed their commission. They disabled two twenty-four pounders, threw five hundred pounds of ball into rivers and wells, and broke in pieces about sixty barrels of flour.

MR. John Butterick, major of a minute regiment, not knowing what had passed at Lexington, ordered his men not to give the first fire, that

they might not be the aggressors. Upon his ap-^{1775.}
 proaching near the regulars, they fired and kil-
 led capt. Isaac Davis, and one private of the pro-
 vincial minute-men. The fire was returned, and
 a skirmish ensued. The king's troops having done
 their business, began their retreat towards Boston.
 This was conducted with expedition, for the in-
 habitants of the adjacent towns had assembled in
 arms, and began to attack them in every direc-
 tion. In their return to Lexington, they were
 exceedingly annoyed, both by those, who pressed
 on the rear, and others who poured in from all
 sides, and fired from behind stone-walls, and such
 like coverts, which supplied the place of lines
 and redoubts.*

AT Lexington the British were joined by a de-
 tachment of 900 men, under Lord Percy, who had
 been sent out by General Gage to support lieut. col.
 Smith. This reinforcement, having two pieces of
 cannon, awed the provincials, and kept them at a
 greater distance; but they continued a constant,
 though irregular and scattering fire, which did great
 execution. The close firing from behind the walls,
 by good marksmen, put the royal troops in no
 small confusion; but they nevertheless kept up a
 brisk retreating fire on the militia and minute-men.

A LITTLE after sunset the regulars reached
 Bunker's-hill, worn down with excessive fatigue,
 having marched that day between thirty and for-
 ty miles. On the next day they returned to Bos-
 ton, across Charlestown ferry.

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 189.*

1775. { THERE never were more than 400 provincials engaged at one time, and often not so many. As some tired and gave out, others came up and took their places. There was scarcely any discipline observed among them. Officers and privates fired when they were ready, and saw a royal uniform, without waiting for the word of command. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to gain opportunities, by crossing fields and fences, and to act as flanking parties against the king's troops, who kept to the main road.

THE British had 65 killed, 180 wounded, and 28 made prisoners. Of the provincials 50 were killed, and 38 wounded and missing. Dr. Ramsay remarks, "as arms were to decide the controversy, it was fortunate for the Americans that the first blood was drawn in New-England. The inhabitants of that country are so connected with each other by descent, manners, religion, politics, and a general equality, that the killing of an individual interested the whole, and made them consider it as a common cause. The blood of those, who were killed at Lexington and Concord, proved the firm cement of an extensive union."*

To prevent the people in Boston from joining their countrymen in the vicinity, in an attack which was threatened, General Gage agreed with a committee of the town, that upon the inhabitants lodging their arms in Faneuil-hall, or any other convenient place, under the care of the select-men, all, who were inclined, might remove

* Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 189. See also Gordon.

with their families and effects. A large number 1775. complied with the condition; and the agreement was punctually observed at first, but, in a short time, the general detained many; and when he admitted the departure of others, he would not allow them to remove their families and effects. The separation of near and dear connexions occasioned many distressing scenes. The provincial congress in vain remonstrated on the infraction of the agreement. He was in some measure compelled to adopt this dishonorable expedient, from the clamor of the tories, who alledged, that when the enemies to the British government were removed, and were all safe with their families and effects, the town would be set on fire.

THE provincial congress of Massachusetts, which was in session at the time of Lexington battle, dispatched an account of it to Great-Britain, accompanied with many depositions to prove, that the British troops were the aggressors. They also made an address to the inhabitants of Great-Britain, in which, after complaining of their sufferings, they declare the attachment they still feel for their sovereign; they appeal to heaven for the justice of their cause, and assert their determined resolution *to die or be free.**

THE congress also voted, that an army of 30,000 men be immediately raised; that 13,600 be of their own province, and that a letter and delegates be sent to the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode-Island. In conse-

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 191.*

1775. quence of this vote, the business of recruiting was began, and an army raised superior in number to that of the British. The command of this force was given to General Ward,

THE battle at Lexington spread the flame of civil discord through the colonies. The martial spirit shown by the American militia on this occasion, afforded matter of exultation. Dr. Ramsay remarks, "that perhaps in no subsequent engagement did the Americans appear to greater advantage than in their first essay at Lexington. It is almost without parallel in military history, for the yeomanry of the country to come forward in a single disjointed manner, without order, and for the most part without officers, and by an irregular fire to put to flight troops equal in discipline to any in the world."*

THE spirits of the people were raised to that degree, that they meditated a total expulsion of the British troops from Boston. An army of 20,000 men was assembled, who formed a line of encampment from Roxbury to Mystic; and here they were soon after joined by a large body of Connecticut troops, under General Putnam, an old officer of great bravery and experience. By this formidable force, was the town of Boston blocked up. General Gage, however, had so strongly fortified it, that the provincials, powerful as they were, durst not make an attack; while, on the other hand, his force was by far too insignificant to meet such an army in the field.†

* Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 195. † Lendrum, Vol. II. p. 21.

THE forces, which had been collected in Massachusetts, were stationed in convenient places for guarding the country from further excursions of the regulars from Boston. Breast-works were also erected, in different places, for the same purpose. Some skirmishes, in the mean time, took place on the islands lying off Boston harbor, which, by habituating the Americans to danger, were of real service to their cause.*

AT the same time that the organization of an army was resolved on by the continental congress, a public fast was recommended to be observed on the 20th of July, throughout the united colonies, "a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer to Almighty God, to implore a blessing on their rightful sovereign, King George; and that the British nation, before it was too late, might form just ideas of their real interest. That, by the gracious interposition of Heaven, America might obtain a redress of her various grievances, a restoration of her invaded rights, and a reconciliation with the parent state, on terms constitutional and honorable to both countries."†

THE clergy of New-England, who were a numerous, learned and respectable body, in their prayers and sermons, represented the cause of America as the cause of heaven; and their exertions in the public cause were important and effectual.

THE necessity of securing Ticonderoga, was early attended to, by many in New-England; but some Connecticut gentlemen were first in attempt-

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 200.* † *Ibid.*

1775. ing the measure. Col. Arnold was sent from Connecticut, to engage the people on the New-Hampshire grants upon this expedition. Col. Ethan Allen, of Bennington, undertook to raise a body of troops for that purpose. General Gage had set the example of attempting to seize upon military stores, and by so doing had commenced hostilities; retaliation, therefore, seemed warrantable.

COL. Allen was at Castleton, with about 270 men, 230 of whom belonged to the New-Hampshire grants. Centinels were immediately placed on all the roads, to prevent intelligence being carried to Ticonderoga. Col. Arnold, who arrived at this time, had heard such an account of the state of the garrison in that place as encouraged the expedition. It was then settled that Allen should have the supreme command, and Arnold was to be his assistant.*

THEY arrived at Lake Champlain, opposite Ticonderoga, on the 9th of May, at night. Boats were with difficulty procured, when he and Col. Arnold crossed over with 83 men, and landed near the garrison. The two colonels advanced side by side, and entered the fort at the dawning of day.

May 10. A centinel snapped his piece at Col. Allen, and then retreated through the covered way to the parade. The main body of the Americans then followed, and drew up. Captain de la Place, the commander, was surprized in his bed, and called upon to surrender the fort. He asked, by what authority? Col. Allen replied, "I demand it in

* Gordon, Vol. II. p. 10.

the name of the great Jehovah, and of the continental congress." No resistance was made, and the fort, with its valuable stores, and forty-eight prisoners, fell into the hands of the Americans.*

COL. Seth Warner was sent off with a party to take possession of Crown-Point, in which there was a garrison of 12 men. This was speedily effected. They took, also, two small vessels, and found materials at Ticonderoga for building others. By this expedition the provincials acquired great quantities of ammunition and military stores; and obtained the command of Lake Champlain, which secured them a passage into Canada.

ABOUT the latter end of May, a great part of the reinforcements ordered from Great-Britain arrived at Boston. Three British generals, Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, whose behavior in the preceding war, had gained them great reputation, also arrived about the same time. General Gage, thus reinforced, prepared for acting with more decision. Before he proceeded to extremities, he issued a proclamation, wherein he offered pardon, in the king's name, to all, who should immediately lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations; excepting only from the benefit of that pardon, "Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." He also proclaimed, that not only the persons above named and excepted, but also all their adherents, associates and cor-

* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 11-14. Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 226.*

1775. respondents, should be deemed guilty of treason and rebellion, and treated accordingly. By this proclamation, it was also declared, "that as the courts of judicature were shut, martial law should take place, till a due course of justice should be re-established."*

THE Americans, supposing this proclamation to be a prelude to hostilities, prepared for action. Orders were, therefore, issued, by the provincial commanders, that a detachment of one thousand men should entrench upon Bunker's-hill, a considerable height, just at the entrance of the peninsula at Charlestown, the situation of which rendered the possession of it of great importance to either party. By some mistake Breed's-hill, high and large as the other, but situated nearer Boston, was marked out for the entrenchments.

IN the night of the 16th of June, the provincials took possession of Breed's-hill, and labored with such diligence and alacrity, that by the dawn of day they had thrown up a small redoubt, about eight rods square. Such was the extraordinary silence that reigned among them, that they were not heard by the British on board their vessels in the neighboring waters. The dawn of day only discovered the work when near completion. Upon
 Jun. 17 which the British began an heavy firing from their ships, and from a fortification on Cop's-hill, in Boston. An incessant shower of shot and bombs was poured upon the American works, and yet but one man was killed.†

* Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 210. † Gordon, Vol. II. p. 39. 40.

THE Americans sustained this fire with the intrepidity of veteran soldiers; and continued laboring indefatigably till they had thrown up a small breast-work, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill; but they were prevented completing it, from the intolerable fire of the enemy. By some unaccountable error, the detachment, which had been working for hours, was neither relieved, nor supplied with refreshments, but was left to engage, under these disadvantages.*

BETWEEN twelve and one o'clock (the day being exceedingly hot) a number of boats and barges, filled with regular troops, from Boston, approached Charlestown, when the men were landed at Moreton's point. They consisted of four battalions, two companies of grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery.†

MAJOR Gen. Howe, and brigadier Gen. Pigot, had the command of those troops, which were the flower of the royal army. They formed and remained in that position, till joined by a second detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of land forces, and a battalion of marines, amounting in the whole to about 3000 men. The Generals Clinton and Burgoyne took their stand upon Cop's-hill, to contemplate the bloody and destructive operations that were now commencing. The king's troops formed in two lines, and advanced deliberately in order to give their artillery time to demolish the American works.

* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 41.* † *Ibid.*

1775. WHILST the British were advancing nearer to the attack, they received orders from Gen. Gage to burn Charlestown. This was done from the military policy of depriving enemies of a cover in their approaches. The town was set on fire by a battery on Cop's-hill, in Boston, and a party from the Somerset man of war, lying in Charles river, and nearly four hundred houses, including six public buildings, were consumed. The lofty steeple of the meeting-house, formed a pyramid of fire above the rest, and struck the astonished eyes of numerous beholders with a magnificent but awful spectacle.

IN Boston, the heights of every kind were covered with citizens, and such of the king's troops as were not on duty. The hills around the adjacent country, which afforded a safe and distinct view of the momentous contest, were occupied by Americans of all ages and orders. The honor of the British troops beat high in the breasts of many, while others, with a keener sensibility, felt for the liberties of a great and growing country.

THE British derived no advantage from the smoke of the conflagration at Charlestown; for the wind suddenly shifting, carried it in another direction, so that it could not cover them in their approach.

THE Americans were miserably armed, with scarce a bayonet to their muskets. They were, however, mostly marksmen, having been accustomed to gunning from their youth. The redoubt

and the breast-work nearest it were chiefly occupied with Massachusetts men. Col. Stark, with the New-Hampshire foldiers under his command; capt. Knowlton, of Ashford, with a party from Connecticut; and a few Massachusetts men, were stationed on the left of the breast-work, and open ground stretching beyond its point to the water side, through which there was no chance of carrying the works.*

THE British moved on slowly to the attack, which gave the provincials the advantage of taking surer and cooler aim. These reserved their fire till the regulars came within ten or twelve rods, when they began a furious discharge of small arms, by which the British were checked in their advance. The discharge from the Americans was incessant, and did such execution, that the king's troops retreated in disorder, and with great precipitation. The officers rallied them, and pushed them forward with their swords; but they returned to the attack with extreme reluctance. The Americans again reserved their fire, till the British were near, and then put them a second time to flight. Such was the loss already sustained, that several of the officers exclaim, "It is downright butchery to lead the men on afresh against the lines." But, animated with a high sense of British honor, the royal army determined to carry their point in spite of all opposition.†

GENERAL Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions, and General Clinton arrived at

* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 42. Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 202.*

† *Ibid, p. 44.*

1775. this critical moment, and joined them in time to be of service. The united and strenuous efforts of the different officers were again successful, notwithstanding the men discovered an almost insuperable aversion to renewing the attack. By this time the powder of the Americans began to fail. This deficiency disabled them from making the same defence as before; while the British reaped a further advantage by bringing some cannon to bear so as to rake the inside of the breast-work from end to end. The fire from the ships, batteries, and field artillery was redoubled. The officers in the rear goaded on the soldiers, and the redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. Under these circumstances a retreat from it was ordered; but the provincials delayed, and made resistance with their discharged muskets, as if they had been clubs, so long that the king's troops, who easily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt, before it was given up to them.*

WHILST these operations were going on at the breast-work and redoubt, the British light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the former, that they might take the American line in flank. Though they exhibited the most undaunted courage, they met with an opposition which called for its greatest exertions. The provincials reserved their fire till the adversaries were near, and then poured it upon the light infantry in such an incessant stream, and in so true a direction, as mowed down their ranks. The en-

* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 44.*

engagement was kept up on both sides with great 1775. resolution. The persevering exertions of the king's troops could not compel the Americans to retreat, till they observed that their main body had left the hill.*

THE retreat of the Americans could not be effected but by marching over Charlestown neck, every part of which was raked by the shot of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. They suffered but little, however, from this formidable artillery, though the fear of it had prevented some regiments, who were ordered to support them, from fulfilling their duty.†

THE number of Americans engaged amounted only to 1500; but the Boston spectators were led to apprehend, at that distance, that they consisted of some thousands.

IT was feared by the Americans, that the British troops would push the advantage they had gained, and march immediately to the head-quarters at Cambridge, about two miles distant, and in no state of defence. But they advanced no further than Bunker's-hill, where they threw up works for their own security. The provincials did the same on Prospect hill, in front of them, about half way to Cambridge.‡

THE loss of the peninsula depressed the spirits of the Americans, and their great loss of men produced the same effect on the British. Dr. Gordon observes, that “there have been few battles

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 203.* † *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 41.* ‡ *Ibid.*

1775. in modern wars, in which, all circumstances considered, there was a greater destruction of men than in this short engagement. A veteran officer, who was at the battles of Dettingen and Minden, and at several others in Germany, has said, "that for the time that the action lasted, and the number of men engaged in it, he never knew any thing equal to it." The action continued about an hour; during that short period the loss of the British, as acknowledged by Gen. Gage, amounted to 1054. Nineteen commissioned officers were killed, and 70 more were wounded. The battle of Quebec, in 1759, which gave Great-Britain the province of Canada, was not so destructive to British officers as this affair of a slight entrenchment, the work only of a few hours."*

THE British officers, by their spirited behavior in this engagement, merited and obtained great applause. But, surely, the provincial troops were entitled to a larger share of admiration. Though in general they had never before seen an engagement, yet their experienced adversaries, with their utmost exertions, could scarcely dislodge them from lines, the work of a single night.

THE Americans lost in this engagement five pieces of cannon. They had 77 killed, and 278 wounded and missing. Thirty of the latter number fell into the hands of the conquerors.†

"THE death of General Warren, who fought that day as a volunteer, was particularly regretted. To the purest patriotism and most undaunt-

* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 47, 48.* † *Morse, p. 304.*

ed bravery, he added the virtues of domestic life, 1775. the eloquence of an accomplished orator, and the wisdom of an able statesman.*

DR. Ramsay observes, that "the burning of Charlestown, though a place of great trade, did not discourage the provincials. It excited resentment and execration, but not any disposition to submit. Such was the high toned state of the public mind, and so great the indifference for property, when put in competition with liberty, that military conflagrations, though they distressed and impoverished, had no tendency to subdue the colonists."†

THE undaunted courage which the New-England militia exhibited at Lexington and Breed's-hill, affords a convincing proof how much may be done by men inspired with an enthusiasm for liberty, without the aid of military discipline. The dispute between Britain and her colonies had long been a popular subject. The prevailing ideas at that time were a detestation of arbitrary power, and a determined resolution to resist, even with the sword. The people, in general, were well informed respecting the causes of the contest, and they had been highly irritated by repeated encroachments upon their privileges. Whilst their minds were wrought to this high pitch, those, who previously to this period, had never seen a battle, dared to encounter the well disciplined forces of the British nation.

* *Ramsay, Vol. 1. p. 205.* † *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XXV.

The second continental congress meet, and organize a regular army. Of their proceedings. Georgia accedes to the confederacy. General Washington is appointed commander in chief, and joins the continental army. Successful attempts of the Americans at sea. Falmouth burnt by the British. Resolutions of the Rhode-Island assembly.

A SECOND American or continental congress was convened at Philadelphia, on the 1775. 10th of May, as was recommended at their dissolution. The primary object of their deliberations, was the general state of affairs in the colonies.

ON their meeting. they chose Peyton Randolph for their president, and Charles Thompson for their secretary. On the next day, Mr. Hancock laid before them a variety of depositions, proving that the king's troops were the aggressors in the late battle at Lexington, together with sundry papers relative to the great events, which had lately taken place in Massachusetts. Whereupon congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America.

THE new congress had been convened but a few days, when their venerable president, Peyton Randolph, was under a necessity of returning home. On his departure, John Hancock was

unanimously chosen his successor. The objects of ^{1775.} deliberation presented to this new congress were, if possible, more important than those, which, in the preceding year, had engaged the attention of their predecessors. They found a new parliament disposed to run all risks in enforcing their submission; and determined to proceed in that vigorous manner which would intimidate opposition. They also understood that administration was united against them, and its members firmly established in their places. Hostilities were commenced, reinforcements had arrived, and more were daily expected. Added to this, they had information that their adversaries had taken measures to secure the friendship and co-operation of the Indians and Canadians.

In this awful crisis, congress had no alternative, but either to renounce the cause of American freedom; or support it by rendering the war general, and involving all the provinces in one promiscuous state of hostility.

THE resolution of the people in favor of the latter, was fixed, and only wanted a public sanction for its operation. Congress, therefore, resolved, "that for the express purpose of defending and securing the colonies, and preserving them in safety against all attempts to carry the late acts of parliament into execution, by force of arms, they be immediately put in a state of defence; but as they wished for a restoration of the harmony formerly subsisting between the mother country and the colonies, to the promotion of this most desira-

1775. ble reconciliation, an humble and dutiful petition be presented to his majesty." To dissuade the Canadians from co-operating with the British, they again addressed them, representing the pernicious tendency of the Quebec act, and apologizing for their taking Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, as measures, which were dictated by the great law of self-preservation. About the same time, to prevent the Indians from disturbing the frontier inhabitants, congress dispatched commissioners, who explained the controversy with Britain in an Indian style; informed them that they had no concern in the family quarrel, and urged them, by the ties of ancient friendship, and a common birth place, to remain at home, keep the hatchet buried deep, and to join neither side.*

WHILST congress were making arrangements for their purposed continental army, it was thought expedient once more to address the inhabitants of Great-Britain, and to publish to the world a declaration, exhibiting their reasons for taking up arms; to address the speaker and gentlemen of the assembly of Jamaica, and the inhabitants of Ireland, and also to prefer a second humble petition to the king.

WHEN this last mentioned petition was presented, in September, 1775, by Mr. Penn and Mr. Lee, Lord Dartmouth informed them, "that to it no answer would be given." The rejection of this petition greatly contributed to the union and perseverance of the colonies.†

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 210.* † *Ibid, p. 214*

A MILITARY opposition to the armies of Great-^{1775.} Britain being resolved upon, it became an object of consequence to fix on a person to conduct that opposition. George Washington, a native of Vir-^{Jun. 15.}ginia, was, by an unanimous vote, appointed commander in chief of all the forces raised for the defence of the colonies. This great man was born in Westmoreland county, on the 11th of February, 1732. His education and youthful exercises tended to form a solid mind, and a vigorous body. Early in life his inclination prompted him to enter the military line. He acquired considerable experience in the command of different parties of the provincial troops, during the late French war. He possessed genius without excentricity, and energy of mind, always guided by sound judgment. His distinguished abilities derived their greatest lustre from the qualities of his heart. He displayed a concentration of sublime virtues, exempt from those weaknesses and irregularities, which often sully the most illustrious characters. A disinterested regard for the welfare of his country appears to have animated his exertions, while engaged in the most hazardous services. But his heroic actions are his amplest panegyric. During the long contest with Britain, we contemplate him exhibiting unconquerable perseverance under the most embarrassing circumstances; and undaunted courage under the greatest dangers. He united every qualification necessary to render him eminent in his exalted

1775. station; and appears raised up by heaven at this critical period, to be the savior of his country.*

AFTER the appointment of Gen. Washington, Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, were constituted major-generals, and Horatio Gates adjutant-general. Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Greene, were appointed brigadier-generals at the same time.

THE 14th of June, twelve companies of riflemen were ordered to be raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The men, to the number of 1430, were procured, and forwarded to the American army at Cambridge with great expedition.

IT was also resolved, "that a sum not exceeding two millions of Spanish milled dollars be emitted by the congress, in bills of credit, for the defence of America; and that the twelve confederated colonies be pledged for the redemption of the bills."†

* *The following beautiful lines are selected from Mrs. Morton's description of General Washington, in her truly sublime and elegant Poem, filed Beacon Hill.*

" His was the first of Fortune's gifts to claim,
And his the triumph of unbounded Fame;
Indulgent nature emulously kind,
Gave to his form the graces of his mind;
While his bold stature towers supremely high,
And like his genius claims the lifted eye;
The kindly features peace and truth impart,
Calm as his reason, open as his heart."

† *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 218, 219.*

CONGRESS established a post-office, to reach from 1775, Falmouth, in New-England, to Savannah, in Georgia; and then unanimously elected Benjamin Franklin postmaster-general.

THEY proceeded to the establishment of an hospital, for an army of 20,000 men; and elected Benjamin Church to be director of, and physician in it.*

CONGRESS had also the satisfaction to receive deputies from the whole colony of Georgia, in July, expressing a desire to join the confederacy.

GEN. Washington, soon after his appointment to the command of the American army, set out for the camp at Cambridge. In his progress, he was treated with the highest honors in every place through which he passed, both by public bodies, and by individuals. Large detachments of volunteers, composed of private gentlemen, turned out, to escort him. A committee from the Massachusetts congress received him about one hundred miles from Boston, and conducted him to the army. He was soon after addressed by the congress of that colony, in the most affectionate manner. In his answer, he feelingly expressed his gratitude for their kind congratulations. He asserted, that in leaving the enjoyments of domestic life; and accepting the appointment, he imitated the public spirit which the province of Massachusetts had exhibited; and that, "his highest ambition was to be the happy instrument of vindicating their rights,

* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 77.*

1775. and to see the devoted province again restored to peace, liberty and safety.”

July 3. WHEN Gen. Washington arrived at Cambridge, he was received with the joyful acclamations of the American army. At the head of his troops, he published a declaration previously drawn up by congress, in the nature of a manifesto, exhibiting the reasons for taking up arms. In this, after enumerating various grievances of the colonies, and vindicating them from a premeditated design of establishing independent states, it was added, “in our own native land, in defence of the freedom which is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed, till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms; we shall lay them down, when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.”*

At this time the British were entrenched on Bunker's-hill, having also three floating batteries in Mystic river, and a twenty gun ship below the ferry, between Boston and Charlestown. They had the neck strongly fortified, and a battery on Cop's-hill.

THE continental army, under the command of Gen. Washington, amounted to about 14,500 men. They were entrenched at Winter hill, Prospect hill, and Roxbury, communicating with one another by small posts, over a distance of ten miles.

* *Ramsay.*

Parties were likewise stationed in several towns, ^{1775.} along the sea coast. This whole force was thrown into three grand divisions: Gen. Ward commanded the right wing, at Roxbury; Gen. Lee, the left, at Prospect hill; and the centre was commanded by Gen. Washington. These dispositions were so judiciously made, that the British were pent up in the town, and excluded from the provisions and forage which the adjacent country, and islands in Boston bay afforded.*

GREAT embarrassments occurred in forming the continental army into a regular system. Enterprising leaders had come forward with their followers, without a scrupulous attention to rank; but it was impossible to assign to every officer the station, that his services merited, or to which his vanity aspired; to introduce discipline and subordination among freemen, who were accustomed to think for themselves, was an arduous task. Those difficulties were in some measure surmounted by the perseverance and resolution of the commander in chief. The troops gradually acquired the mechanism and movements as well as the name of an army. Method and punctuality began to be introduced. In arranging the army, the military skill of adjutant-general Gates was of great service.†

It was found, on the 4th of August, that the whole stock of powder throughout the four New-England provinces, could make but little more than nine rounds a man, to the army investing

* *Ramsay.* † *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 224.

1775. Boston. This was generally known among themselves, and was also communicated to the British, by a deserter; but they did not presume to rely on this intelligence. Though they had met with unexpected proofs of American courage; yet they could not believe that the colonists were possessed of such consummate assurance as to continue investing them, while so destitute of ammunition.

At length the Americans received a supply of a few tons, which was sent from the committee of Elizabethtown; and soon after several thousand pounds weight was obtained from Africa, in exchange for New-England rum. This was managed with so much address, that every ounce for sale in the British forts on the African coasts, was purchased, and brought off for the use of the colonists.

Nov. THE Massachusetts assembly and continental congress both resolved, to fit out armed vessels to cruise on the American coasts, for the purpose of interrupting warlike stores and supplies, designed for the use of the British army. The object was at first limited, but as the prospect of accommodation vanished, it was extended to all British property afloat on the high seas.

WHILST the Americans were fitting out armed vessels, previously to their making any captures, Falmouth, a town in the north-eastern part of Massachusetts, was burnt by captain Mowat, under the orders of the British admiral at Boston. The inhabitants, in compliance with a resolve of the provincial congress to prevent Tories conveying out their effects, gave violent obstruction to the

loading of a mast-ship, which drew upon them the indignation of the admiral. This event spread an alarm upon the sea coast; but produced no disposition to submit to the arbitrary impositions of Great-Britain.*

IN a few days after the burning of Falmouth, the old south meeting-house, in Boston, was taken into possession by the British, and destined for a riding school, and the service of the light dragoons. These proceedings tended to irritate the colonists, and added energy to their determined spirit of resistance.

THE first naval attempts of the Americans were crowned with success. On the 29th of November, the Lee privateer, commanded by captain Manly, belonging to Marblehead, captured the brig Nancy, containing such a variety of military stores, that had congress sent an order for the articles most wanted, they could not have made out a more suitable invoice. The whole value of the vessel and cargo was computed at 50,000*l.* and this loss in particular occasioned much discontent in Britain.

Soon after, several store-ships were captured by the Americans, which were designed for the use of the British army in Boston. These events increased the distresses of the royal troops in that town; furnished supplies for the continental army; and encouraged the inhabitants of New-England to undertake this hazardous business.

* *Gordon. Vol. II. p. 132.*

1775. BEFORE the close of the year, congress determined to build five vessels of thirty-two guns, five of twenty-eight, and three of twenty-four, in order to distress the enemy, and protect their own coasts.*

IN the month of November, the general assembly of Rhode-Island passed an act for the capital punishment of persons, who should be found guilty of holding a traitorous correspondence with the ministry of Great-Britain, or any of their officers or agents, or of supplying the ministerial army or navy, employed against the united colonies, with provisions, arms, &c. or of acting as pilots on board any of their vessels. They also passed an act for sequestering the estates of several persons, whom they considered as avowed enemies to the liberties of America.†

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 225.* † *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 123.*



CHAPTER XXVI.

The Canada expedition. Death of General Montgomery. Disputes of Lord Dunmore with the Virginians. Scheme of Connelly to bring the Ohio Indians to a junction with Lord Dunmore at Alexandria. North and South-Carolina expel their governors.

THE success, which had hitherto attended the Americans, now emboldened them to think not only of defending themselves, but likewise of acting offensively against Great-Britain. The conquest of Canada appeared an object within their reach, and one that would be attended with many advantages. As an invasion of that province was already facilitated by the taking of Crown-Point and Ticonderoga, it was resolved, if possible, to penetrate that way into Canada, and reduce Quebec during the winter, before the fleets and armies, which they were well assured would sail thither from Britain, should arrive. 1775.

CONGRESS committed the management of their military arrangements in this northern department to Gen. Schuyler and Gen. Montgomery. While the former remained at Albany, to attend an Indian treaty, the latter was sent forward to Ticonderoga, with a body of troops from New-York and New-England. At length Gen. Schuyler was taken ill, and the sole command devolved upon

1775. Gen. Montgomery. He was opposed by General Carlton, governor of Canada, an active and experienced officer.

AFTER receiving the full number of troops appointed for his expedition, Gen. Montgomery determined to besiege St. John's, the first British post in Canada. This attempt was facilitated by the reduction of Chamblee, a small fort in the neighborhood, where he found a supply of six tons of gunpowder. Whilst Gen. Montgomery was prosecuting the siege, the governor of the province prepared to oppose him; and for that purpose collected, at Montreal, about 800 men, chiefly militia and Indians. While Gen. Carlton and his forces were on their march, they were attacked by col. Warner, and three hundred of the green mountain boys, and totally defeated. In consequence of this event the garrison of St. John's consented to surrender; the prisoners amounted to about 700, and were treated with great humanity.

COL. Alien attended Gen. Montgomery at the siege of St. John's. The success which this gentleman met with at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, emboldened him to make a similar attempt at Montreal. He was there attacked by the militia of the place, supported by a detachment of regulars; and though he defended himself with great bravery, was under the necessity of surrendering, with 38 of his men. The colonel was loaded with irons, and in that condition sent to England.*

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 230—232. Lendrum, Vol. II. p. 55.*

ON the 12th of November, Gen. Montgomery 1775. pressed on to Montreal, which, not being capable of making any defence, governor Carlton quitted it one day, and the American general entered it the next.

ABOUT the same time that Canada was invaded Sep. 13. in the usual route from New-York, col. Arnold was detached with a thousand men from Cambridge, to penetrate into Canada by the way of the Kennebeck. Up the river, they proceeded with great labor and difficulty, being impeded by a very rapid stream, with rocky sides and bottom, cataracts, carrying-places, and other obstacles. In their march by land, they were obliged alternately to encounter deep swamps, thick woods, difficult mountains, and craggy precipices; so that the general progress was only from four to ten miles a day. This incessant labor caused many to fall sick. One third of the number, which set out, were, from want of necessaries, obliged to return; the others proceeded with unabated fortitude and constancy. Provisions became, at length, so scarce, that some of the men ate their dogs, and some their shoes and cartouch-boxes. Col. Arnold, however, and the few, who adhered to him, scarcely four hundred in number, were determined to surmount every obstacle. After marching three hundred miles, through an uninhabited country, they came to an house, which was the first they had seen for thirty-one days. By this bold enter-

1775. prize, Arnold acquired the name of the American Hannibal.*

UPON colonel Arnold's arrival, he circulated among the inhabitants of Canada a manifesto, subscribed by Gen. Washington, which had been sent from Cambridge with this detachment.

Dec. 1. GEN. Montgomery having effected a junction with col. Arnold, commenced the siege of Quebec. Upon his arrival before the town, he wrote a letter to the British governor, recommending an immediate surrender, to prevent the dreadful consequences of a storm. Though the flag, which conveyed this letter, was fired upon, and all communication refused, Gen. Montgomery found other means to convey a letter of the same tenor into the garrison; but the inflexible firmness of the governor could not be moved either by threats or dangers. The Americans soon after commenced a bombardment with five small mortars, but with very little effect. In a few days, Gen. Montgomery opened a six gun battery, at the distance of seven hundred yards from the walls; but his metal was too light to make any impression.†

THE upper part of Quebec was surrounded with very strong works, and the access from the lower town was excessively difficult, from its almost perpendicular steepness. Gen. Montgomery, from a native intrepidity, and an ardent thirst for glory, overlooked all these dangers, and resolved at once either to carry the place or perish in the attempt. Trusting much to his good fortune, confiding in

* *Ramsay, Vol. 1. p. 231.* † *Ibid, p. 240.*

the bravery of his troops, and their readiness to follow whithersoever he should lead; and depending somewhat on the extensiveness of the works, he determined to attempt the town by escalade.*

THE garrison of Quebec, at this time, consisted of about 1520 men, of which 800 were militia. The American army, consisting of about 800 men, was divided into four bodies, of which two were directed to make false attacks on the upper town; one by col. Livingston, at the head of the Canadians, against St. John's gate; and the other by major Brown, against Cape-Diamond; whilst Gen. Montgomery and col. Arnold were to make two real ones against the lower town. Signals were to be made for the combination of the attacks, which were to begin exactly at five o'clock in the morning.†

THE different routes the assailants had to make, the depth of the snow, and other obstacles, prevented the execution of Livingston's command. Gen. Montgomery moved with his division, and passed the first barrier; he then advanced boldly to attack the second, which was much stronger. A violent discharge of grape-shot from several cannon, together with a well directed fire of musketry, here put an end to the life and hopes of this enterprising officer. His aid-de-camp, capt. John M'Pherson, capt. Cheesman, and most of his other officers, fell at the same time. This so dispirited the men, that col. Campbell, on whom the command devolved, thought proper to order a retreat.‡

* Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 247. † Gordon, Vol. I. p. 184. ‡ Lendrum.

1775. IN the mean time col. Arnold, at the head of 350 men, passed through St. Roques, and made a furious attack upon a two gun battery, which, although well defended, was, at length, carried, with considerable loss. In this attack col. Arnold received a wound, which made it necessary to carry him off the field of battle. His party, however, continued the assault with great energy, and made themselves masters of a second barrier. These brave men sustained the force of the whole garrison for three hours, but finding themselves hemmed in, and without hopes either of success, relief or retreat, they yielded to numbers, and the advantageous situation of their adversaries.*

THE loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 100, and 300 were taken prisoners. It is remarked, even by a British historian, "that the valor of the provincial troops could not be exceeded."

THE death of Gen. Montgomery was greatly and sincerely regretted. He was of a good family in Ireland, and served with reputation in the late war with France. He engaged in the American contest from a sincere attachment to the cause of liberty, and quitted the enjoyment of an easy fortune, and the highest domestic felicity, for the fatigues and dangers of war. In his military station, he gained the love, esteem and confidence of the whole army; and while his amiable qualities conciliated an uncommon share of private affection, his great abilities procured an equal

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 242.*

proportion of public esteem. His name was even ^{1775.} mentioned, in the British parliament, with singular respect.*

SIR Guy Carlton treated the American prisoners with the utmost humanity. He liberally supplied the sick and wounded with every necessary accommodation; and soothed their minds with the pleasing assurance, that, upon their recovery, they should have free liberty to depart. This generous line of conduct redounded more to his honor than his brave and judicious defence, in a dangerous and critical situation.

THE collected remnant of the American army, after their unsuccessful attack, agreed in a council of war, that col. Arnold should command, and should continue the siege, or rather the blockade, which was accordingly done, apparently at no small risk, as they had not more than four hundred men fit for duty; they retired about three miles from the city, and posted themselves advantageously.

WHILST hostilities were conducted with vigor in the north, the flame of contention was gradually extending to the south. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, was involved in disputes similar to those, which had taken place in the other colonies. The inhabitants of Virginia, in common with the other provinces, had been assiduous in preparing their militia for the purposes of defence. Whilst they were pursuing this object, Lord Dunmore removed the powder from Wil-

* Gordon, Vol. II. p. 188. Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 243. See Annual Register, 1776, p. 15.

1775. Williamsburg. The people were alarmed, and assembled with arms to demand its restitution. By the interposition of the mayor and corporation of Williamsburg, extremities were prevented. Reports were soon after circulated, that a second attempt to rob the magazine was intended. The inhabitants again took arms, and instituted nightly patrols, with a determined resolution to protect it. The governor was irritated at these commotions, and threatened to set up the royal standard, enfranchise the negroes, and arm them against their masters. These unguarded expressions greatly increased the public ferment.*

THE people held frequent assemblies. A number of gentlemen of Hanover and the neighboring counties convened in arms, with a design to force the governor to restore the powder, and to take the public money into their own possession. On their way to Williamsburg for this purpose, they were met by the receiver general, who became security for the payment of the gunpowder, and the citizens engaged to guard the magazine and public revenue.†

LORD Dunmore was so much intimidated by this insurrection, that he sent his family on board the Fowey man of war. About the same period his lordship, with the assistance of a detachment of marines, fortified his palace, and surrounded it with artillery. He soon after issued a proclamation, in which the person, who promoted the late tumult, and his associates, were charged with

* *Ramsay, Vol. I p. 245. Lendrum, Vol. II. p. 65. † Ibid.*

treasonable practices. About this time copies of ^{1775.} some of his letters to the minister of the American department, were made public, and produced consequences similar to those, which had been occasioned by those of Mr. Hutchinson, at Boston.*

IN this state of disorder, the governor convened the general assembly, in order to lay before them Lord North's conciliatory plan; which was unanimously rejected. The assembly began their session by enquiries into the state of the magazine. They found most of the remaining powder buried, and the muskets deprived of their locks. These discoveries irritated the people to such a degree, that Lord Dunmore retired on board the man of war, which then lay near Yorktown. He left a message for the assembly, acquainting them, that he thought it prudent to retire, as he apprehended himself in danger of falling a sacrifice to popular resentment. This produced a tedious altercation, which ended in a positive refusal of the governor to trust himself again in Williamsburg. In his turn, he requested them to meet him on board the man of war, for the purpose of giving his assent to such bills as he should approve. This proposal the assembly peremptorily rejected; and the royal government in Virginia came to a period.

AFTER Lord Dunmore abandoned his government, some of the most strenuous adherents to the British cause repaired to him. He was also joined by numbers of black slaves. With these, and the assistance of the British shipping, he was,

* *Ramsay, Vol. I, p. 246. Lendrum, Vol. II. p. 65.*

1775. for some time, enabled to carry on a kind of predatory war. After some inconsiderable attempts on land, proclaiming liberty to the slaves, and setting up the royal standard, he and his party took up their residence at Norfolk.*

A CONSIDERABLE force collected against them, by whom they were utterly defeated. Lord Dunmore abandoned Norfolk, and retired with his people on board the ships. The provincials took possession of the place, and greatly distressed those on board, by refusing to supply them with necessaries, and by firing on them from behind the buildings and warehouses on the wharves. These proceedings drew a remonstrance from Lord Dunmore, in which he also insisted, that his fleet should be furnished with necessaries; but his request being denied, a resolution was taken to set fire to the town. This was carried into effect, and Norfolk

1776, Jan. 1. by his order was reduced to ashes. The town contained about six thousand inhabitants, and some in affluent circumstances. The whole loss was estimated at three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

IN the mean time, a plan was formed by one Mr. Connelly, a Pennsylvanian royalist, in which Lord Dunmore was a party. Having previously entered into a league with the Ohio Indians, the plan in general was, that Connelly should return to the Ohio, where, by the assistance of the British and Indians in those parts, he was to penetrate through the back settlements into Virginia, and join Lord Dunmore at Alexandria. Whilst on his

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 249, 250. Gordon, Vol. II. p. 207.*

way to the scene of action, Connelly was discovered, 1775. and taken prisoner.

IN the colonies of North and South-Carolina, the royal governors were expelled, and obliged, like Lord Dunmore, to take refuge on board of men of war. Governor Martin, of North-Carolina, attempted to raise the back settlers, consisting chiefly of Scotch Highlanders, against the colony. They prematurely took arms, and in an engagement which took place, their leader was taken prisoner, and the whole of the party broken or dispersed.*

IN the course of this year, a series of disasters followed the royal cause. General Gage's army was closely besieged in Boston, and rendered useless. There was a general termination of the royal government; and Great-Britain beheld all the colonies united against her in the most determined opposition.

* *Ramsay, Vol. 1. p. 253.*



CHAPTER XXVII.

A new army is raised. Boston attacked and evacuated. Canada recovered by the royal army. Charleston, in South-Carolina, besieged by a British fleet and army. They are obliged to retreat with great loss. Proceedings of the British parliament.

AS the year 1775 drew near to a close, the friends of congress were embarrassed with a new difficulty. Their army was temporary, and only engaged to serve out the year. From a variety of causes the new enlistments went on slowly. So many difficulties retarded the recruiting service, that on the last day of the year, the whole American army amounted only to 9650 men. Gen. Washington, in his official letters to the American congress on this occasion, thus expresses himself. "It is not in the pages of history, perhaps, to furnish a case like ours; to maintain a post within musket-shot of the enemy, for six months together, without ^{*} and at the same time to disband one army, and recruit another, within that distance of twenty-odd British regiments, is more, probably, than ever was attempted. But if we succeed as well in the last, as we have heretofore in the first, I shall think it the most fortunate event of my whole life."

^{*} Left blank in the original, to guard against the danger of miscarriage. Read "without powder."

AT this period the British troops in Boston were ^{1776.} suffering the inconveniency of a blockade;* they were reduced to great distress for want of provisions and fuel. The supplies from Britain did not arrive till a long time after they were expected; and several store-ships were intercepted by the Americans.

THE American army, including the militia, which were collected on this occasion, made an operating force of about 17,000 men, before Boston; but they labored under great inconveniencies from the want of arms and ammunition. On the 16th of February, 1776, the strength of the ice having been tried in one place, and the frost continuing, Gen. Washington was desirous of embracing the season for passing over it, from Cambridge side, into Boston. He laid before the council of war, the following question. "A stroke well aimed at this critical juncture may put a final period to the war, and restore peace and tranquillity, so much to be wished for; and, therefore, whether, part of Cambridge and Roxbury bays being frozen over, a general assault should not be made on Boston?"†

A NEGATIVE being put to this question, the next point to be considered was, whether they should attempt to possess themselves of Dorchester heights; this was unanimously agreed upon, and conducted with the utmost expedition.

* Gen. Gage had departed for England, and was succeeded by Gen. Howe. † Gordon, Vol. II. p. 189. Washington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 97.

1776. To conceal the design, and divert the attention of the garrison, a very heavy service of cannon and mortars began to play upon the town from other directions, and was continued for three days.

THE night of the 4th of March was fixed upon for taking possession of Dorchester heights. A covering party of about 800 men led the way. These were followed by the carts with the entrenching tools, and 1200 of a working party, commanded by Gen. Thomas.

IN the rear there were more than 200 carts, loaded with fascines and hay in bundles. While the cannon were playing in other parts, the greatest silence was kept in this working party.

By morning the industrious provincials completed lines of defence, on Dorchester heights, which astonished the garrison. "Some of our officers," says a British author, "have acknowledged, that the expedition, with which these works were thrown up, with their sudden and unexpected appearance, recalled to their minds those wonderful stories of enchantment and invisible agency, which are so frequent in eastern romances."* General Howe, in particular, was seized with consternation; and was heard to say, "I know not what I shall do; the rebels have done more in one night than my whole army could have done in months."

THE admiral informed Gen. Howe, that if the Americans kept possession of these heights, he should not be able to keep one of his majesty's ships in the harbor. It was therefore determined, in a coun-

* *Annual Register*, 1776, p. 148.

cil of war, to attempt to dislodge them. An en- 1776.
gagement was hourly expected. It was intended
by General Washington, in that case, to force his
way into Boston with 4000 men, who were to
have embarked at the mouth of Cambridge river.
The militia had come forward with great alert-
ness, each bringing three days provision, in ex-
pectation of an immediate assault. The men were
in high spirits, and impatiently waiting for the
appeal.*

THEY were reminded that it was the 5th of
March, and were called upon to avenge the death
of their countrymen killed on that day. The
many eminences in and near Boston, which over-
looked the ground on which it was expected that
the contending parties would engage, were crowd-
ed with numerous spectators. But Gen. Howe
did not intend to attack till the subsequent day.
In order to be ready for it, the transports went
down in the evening towards the castle. In the
night a most violent storm, and towards morning
a heavy flood of rain, came on, which providen-
tially prevented a dreadful waste of lives. In
this situation it was agreed by the British, in a
council of war, to evacuate the town as soon as
possible.

ON the 7th of March, there was a general
hurry and confusion in Boston; the British troops
and many of the inhabitants, who were attached
to the royal cause, being busy in preparing to quit the
town, and carry off all they could of their military

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 262. Gordon, Vol. II. p. 193.*

1776. stores and valuable effects. A flag was sent out from the select-men, acquainting Gen. Washington with the intention of the troops, and that Gen. Howe was disposed to leave the town standing, provided he could retire uninterrupted. Gen. Washington bound himself under no obligation, but expressed himself in words, which admitted of a favorable construction, and intimated his good wishes for the preservation of Boston.

THE British troops, who evacuated Boston, amounted to more than 7000 men. They were accompanied by a large number of tories. Their embarkation was attended with many circumstances of distress and embarrassment. Their intended voyage to Halifax subjected them to great dangers. The coast, at all times hazardous, was eminently so at that tempestuous equinoctial season. Notwithstanding these unfavorable appearances, their voyage was short and prosperous.*

THE boats employed in the embarkation of the British troops, had scarcely completed their business, when General Washington, with his army, marched into Boston. He was received by the inhabitants, with every mark of respect and gratitude, which could be paid to a deliverer. He was honored by congress with a vote of thanks. They also ordered a medal to be struck, with suitable devices, to perpetuate the remembrance of this great event. The Massachusetts council, and house of representatives, complimented him in a joint address, in which they expressed their good wishes in

* *Ramsey, Vol. I. p. 263—265.*

the following words: " may you still go on approved by heaven, revered by all good men, and dreaded by those tyrants, who claim their fellow men as their property."* 1776.

THOUGH congress and the states made great exertions to support the war in Canada, yet, from the fall of Montgomery, their interest in that province daily declined. The reduction of Quebec was an object to which their resources were inadequate. General Carlton had received several reinforcements from England; and the British forces in Canada were estimated at about 13,000 men. The provincial army amounted to 3000, and, from the prevalence of the small-pox, there were only 900 fit for duty. With this small army Gen. Thompson projected an attack on the British force at Three Rivers; which is half way between Quebec and Montreal. Though the Americans conducted this enterprize with great bravery, they were soon repulsed, and obliged to yield to superior force. Gen. Sullivan conducted the retreat with so much judgment, that the baggage and public stores were saved, and the numerous sick brought off. The American army reached Crown-Point on the 1st of July, and at that place made their first stand.†

WITH this unfavorable event, the Americans reluctantly relinquished Canada. They demolished their works, and carried off their artillery, with the utmost expedition. When the British general arrived at St. John's, he found the place abandon-

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 265.* † *Ibid, p. 267—274.*

1776. ed and burnt. Chamblee shared the same fate,
 and all Canada was recovered by the king's troops.

AFTER the expulsion of the American army from Canada, they exerted themselves to the utmost to maintain a naval superiority on Lake Champlain; for this purpose, a fleet was constructed, and put under the command of Gen. Arnold. The command of this lake was a great object with the British, towards accomplishing their designs on the northern frontiers of New-York. Hence they were induced to proceed up the lake, and engage the Americans. A smart naval action ensued, in which the Americans resisted a superior force, with a spirit approaching to desperation. When Gen. Arnold saw that it was impossible to escape, and unavailing to resist, he ran the Congress galley, on board of which he was, together with the five gondolas on shore, in such a position, as enabled him to land his men, and blow up the vessels. In the execution of this perilous enterprize, he paid a romantic attention to a point of honor. He did not quit his own galley, till she was in flames, lest the British should board her and strike his flag. Though the result of this action was unfavorable to the Americans, yet thereby Gen. Arnold, in addition to the fame of a brave foldier, acquired that of an able naval officer.*

THE bad success of the Americans in the North was in some measure compensated by the advantage they had gained in another quarter. At this period, a squadron of ships, commanded by Sir Peter

* Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 277, 278.

Parker, and a body of troops under Gen. Clinton, 1776. resolved to attempt the reduction of Charleston. They had 2800 land forces, which they hoped, with the co-operation of their shipping, would be fully sufficient.*

FOR some months past every exertion had been made to put the colony of South-Carolina, and especially its capital, Charleston, in a respectable posture of defence. In subserviency to this view, works had been erected on Sullivan's island, which is situated so near the channel leading up to the town, as to be a convenient post for annoying vessels upon their approaching.†

SIR Peter Parker attacked the fort on that island, July 28. with a large naval force. The action commenced between ten and eleven before noon, and was continued for upwards of ten hours. The garrison, consisting of 375 regulars, and a few militia, under the command of colonel Moultrie, made a most gallant defence. They fired deliberately, for the most part took aim, and seldom missed their object. The ships were torn almost to pieces, and the killed and wounded on board exceeded 200 men. The loss of the garrison was only 10 men killed, and 22 wounded. During this desperate engagement, it was found impossible for the British land forces to give the least assistance to the fleet. The American works were found to be much stronger, than they had imagined, and the depth of water effectually prevented them from making any attempt. Before morning, the ships had retired

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 288.* † *Ibid.*

1776. about two miles distant from the island, and in a few days more, the troops re embarked, and the whole sailed for New-York.*

THE Americans, on this occasion, justly boasted of their heroes. A serjeant, observing the flag-staff shot away in the beginning of the action, jumped from one of the embrasures upon the beach, took up the flag, and fixing it upon a sponge staff, put it in its proper place, in the midst of the dreadful fire already mentioned. For this distinguished act of bravery, he was presented with a sword by congress.

ANOTHER, whilst exerting himself in a very distinguished manner, was cruelly shattered by a cannon ball; when about to expire, "my friends," said he, "I am dying, but do not let the cause of liberty expire with me."†

THE thanks of congress were given to Gen. Lee, who had been sent to take the command in Carolina, and also to colonels Moultrie and Thompson, for their good conduct in this memorable action. In compliment to the commanding officer, the fort from that time was called fort Moultrie.

By the repulse of this armament, the southern states obtained a respite of the calamities of war for two years and an half.

WHILST the colonists exhibited the most determined resolution in defending their liberties, the British ministry pursued with energy their fixed design of subduing them by force of arms. In the session of parliament in 1775, it was voted to em-

* Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 288. † Gordon, Vol. II. p. 286.

ploy 28,000 seamen, and 55,000 land forces, for 1775. the vigorous prosecution of the American war.

A bill was soon after brought into parliament, interdicting all trade and intercourse with the thirteen united colonies. By it all property of Americans, whether of ships or goods, on the high seas, or in harbor, was declared "to be forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his majesty's ships of war." It further enacted, "that the masters, crews, and other persons found on board captured American vessels, should be entered on board his majesty's vessels of war, and there considered to be in his majesty's service, to all intents and purposes, as if they had entered of their own accord." This bill also authorized the crown to appoint commissioners, who, over and above granting pardon to individuals, were empowered to "enquire into general and particular grievances, and to determine whether any colony or part of a colony was returned to that state of obedience, which might entitle it to be received within the king's peace and protection." In that case, upon a declaration from the commissioners, "the restrictions of the proposed law were to cease."*

IN the progress of the debates on this bill, Lord Mansfield declared "that the questions of original right and wrong, were no longer to be considered—that they were engaged in a war, and must use their utmost efforts to obtain the ends proposed by it—that they must either fight or be

* *Ramsay, Vol. 1. p. 283.*

1775. pursued, and that the justice of their cause must give way to their present situation."

THE declaration of this illustrious oracle of law, whose great abilities were known and admired in America, excited the astonishment, and cemented the union of the colonists. "Great-Britain," said they, "has commenced war against us, for maintaining our constitutional liberties, and her lawgivers now declare, they must proceed without any retrospect to the merits of the original ground of dispute. Our peace and happiness must be sacrificed to British honor and consistency, in their continuing to prosecute an unjust invasion of our rights." A number of lords, as usual, entered a spirited protest against the bill; but it was carried by a great majority in both houses of parliament, and soon after received the royal assent.*

1776. THE British parliament proceeded yet further, and concluded treaties with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Brunswick, and the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, for hiring their troops to the king of Great-Britain, to be employed in order to effect the subjugation of the American colonies,

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 284, 285.*



CHAPTER XXVIII.

The American independence declared. Formation of the state constitutions. The inhabitants of Vermont declare their territory to be a free and independent state.

THE Americans were irritated to the highest degree, by the late acts of parliament, which placed them out of the royal protection, and engaged 16,000 foreign mercenaries to assist in effecting their conquest. They asserted that protection and allegiance were reciprocal, and that the refusal of the first was a legal ground of justification for withholding the last. They reasoned, that if Great-Britain called in the aid of strangers to crush them, they must seek a similar relief for their own preservation; and reflected, that, while they continued to acknowledge themselves subjects to the British empire, they were regarded as rebels, and this might preclude them from forming alliances with foreign states.*

THE motion for declaring the colonies free and independent, was first made in congress, by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia. He was warranted in making this motion, by the particular instructions of his immediate constituents, and also by the general voice of the people of all the colo-

* Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 337.

1776. nies. When the time for taking the subject under consideration arrived, much knowledge, ingenuity and eloquence were displayed on both sides of the question. The debates were continued for some time, and with great animation. In these, John Adams, the present president of the United States, and John Dickinson, took leading and opposite parts. The former began one of his speeches, by invoking all the powers of eloquence, to assist him in defending the claims, and in enforcing the duty of his countrymen. He strongly urged the immediate dissolution of all political connexion of the colonies with Great-Britain, from the voice of the people; from the necessity of the measure, in order to obtain assistance, from a regard to consistency, and from a prospect of glory and happiness which opened beyond the war, to a free and independent people.*

AFTER a full discussion, the measure of declaring the colonies free and independent, was approved by nearly an unanimous vote. And the 4th of July announced to the world, the erection of this new empire. This great event took place two hundred and eighty-four years after the discovery of America by Columbus—one hundred and sixty-six from the first effectual settlement in Virginia—and one hundred and fifty-six from the first settlement of Plymouth, in Massachusetts, which were the earliest English settlements in America.†

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 340, 341.* † *Merse's Geography, Vol. I. p. 309.*

THE act of the united colonies, for separating ^{1776.} themselves from the government of Great-Britain, and declaring their independence, was expressed in the following words :

“ WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands, which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station, to which the laws of nature and of nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires, that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

“ WE hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter, or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

“ PRUDENCE, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to

1776. right themselves by abolishing the forms, to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations; pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity, which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great-Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

“ HE has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

“ HE has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

“ HE has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

“ HE has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

“HE has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people. 1776.

“HE has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the danger of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

“HE has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of land.

“HE has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

“HE has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

“HE has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

“HE has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

“He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

“HE has combined with others to subject us to jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

1776. “FOR quartering large bodies of armed troops
among us :

FOR protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment from any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states :

“FOR cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :

“FOR imposing taxes on us without our consent :

“FOR depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury :

“FOR transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences :

“FOR abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :

“FOR taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the form of our governments :

“FOR suspending our legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

“HE has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

“HE has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

“HE is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of

death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with 1776. circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

“ HE has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

“ HE has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

“ IN every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

“ NOR have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts made by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must there-

1776. fore acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces
our separation, and hold them, as we hold the
rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

“WE, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people in these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great-Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.”*

THE above declaration was signed by the representatives of the United States.

THE declaration of independence was read publicly in all the states, and met with a welcome reception. It was also publicly read to the American army, and received by them with unfeigned acclamations of joy. Though it was well known that Great-Britain had employed a force of 55,000

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 341-345.*

men, to war upon the new-formed states, and that 1776.
 the continental army was not near equal to half
 that number, and only engaged for a few months,
 and that congress was without any assurance of
 foreign aid, yet both the American officers and
 privates gave every evidence of their hearty ap-
 probation of the decree, which severed the colo-
 nies from Great-Britain, and submitted to the de-
 cision of the sword, whether they should be free
 states, or conquered provinces.*

THE declaration of independence was perfectly agreeable to the republican habits and sentiments of the New-England states. A British author observes, that "of all the American colonies, New-England, from its independent spirit in religion, had probably longest cherished the wish, and even entertained hopes of becoming independent in government."†

PREVIOUSLY to the declaration of independence, congress had recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United States, to adopt such governments as should, in their opinion, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents. Accordingly new institutions of government began to take place this year in the different states. Though the kingly office was abolished, yet, in most of the subordinate departments of government, ancient forms and names were retained. Each state appointed a supreme executive head, with the title of governor or president. They agreed, likewise, in deriving the

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 291.* † *Goldsmith.*

1776. whole powers of government, either mediately or immediately, from the people.*

As a further security for the continuance of republican principles, in the American constitutions, they united in prohibiting any hereditary honors and distinction of ranks. All religious establishments were also abolished.

THE rejection of British sovereignty not only involved a necessity of erecting independent constitutions, but of cementing the whole United States by some common bond of union. The act of independence did not hold out to the world thirteen sovereign states, but a common sovereignty of the whole, in their united capacity. It therefore became necessary to run the line of distinction, between the local legislatures, and the assembly of the states in congress. A committee was appointed for digesting articles of confederation between the states, or united colonies, as they were then called. Whilst the propriety of declaring independence was under debate, and some weeks previously to the adoption of that measure, a committee met as above; but the plan was not for sixteen months after so far digested, as to be ready for communication to the states. Nor was it finally ratified, by the accession of all the states, till nearly three years more had elapsed.†

THE declaration of independence, which was made by the united colonies, left the people on the New-Hampshire grants in a situation more uncertain and critical than they were previously to

* *Ranssay, Vol. I. p. 350—353.* † *Ibid, p. 357.*

this event. Sensible of the difficulties they had to encounter, the inhabitants of these grants were induced to take a decisive step. In January, 1777, a general convention of representatives, from the towns on both sides the mountains, met at Westminster. Being perfectly acquainted with the sentiments of their constituents, after a serious debate and consultation, they publicly proclaimed, that the district of territory, usually known by the name of the New-Hampshire grants, "of right ought to be, and is hereby declared, forever hereafter to be considered as a free and independent jurisdiction, or state, to be forever hereafter called, known and distinguished, by the name of New-Connecticut, alias Vermont." And that the inhabitants shall be entitled to the same privileges, as shall be allowed to the inhabitants of any of the free and independent states of America. And that such privileges and immunities shall be regulated by a bill of rights, and by a form of government, to be established at the next session of the convention.*

THUS was freedom and independence established, by the general voice of the people in the American states. A British author has observed, "that, as the discovery of the American continent was one of the most important discoveries in natural; so the emancipation of North-America from the authority of Great-Britain, with the effects which the event must produce on the western world, is one of the greatest in civil history."†

* *Williams' History of Vermont*, p. 232. † *Andrews*.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Battle at Long-Island. The Americans retreat to New-York. Capt. Hale sent for a spy to Long-Island, and is executed by the British. The royal commissioners hold a conference with a committee of congress. New-York abandoned. Battle at the White Plains. The British overrun the Jerseys. The desperate situation of American affairs. Rhode-Island taken, and commodore Hopkins' squadron blocked up. General Lee taken prisoner, and closely confined. Proceedings of the American congress. General Washington gives a new turn to the affairs of America, by surprizing and defeating the British in the battles of Trenton and Princeton.

THE Americans were sensible that the most vigorous exertions were necessary to maintain that independence which they had boldly proclaimed. Though that measure detached some timid friends from supporting them in their opposition to Great-Britain, it increased the vigor and union of those who possessed more fortitude and perseverance.*

As it had early occurred to Gen. Washington, that the possession of New-York would be to the British a favorite object; great pains were taken to fortify that city, and the adjacent islands. The

* *Ramsay, Vol. 1. p. 349.*

greatest part of the American army was ordered 1776. thither; and Gen. Washington himself fixed his head quarters in that city.*

THE force, destined to operate against New-York, was far superior to any, which had ever before appeared in America. It consisted of thirty thousand excellent troops, among whom were great numbers of experienced veterans. They were amply provided with artillery, military stores, and warlike materials of every kind, and were supported by a numerous fleet. The fleet was commanded by Lord Howe, and the land forces by his brother, Gen. Howe; men of approved valor and experience in the art of war. The admiral and general, in addition to their military powers, were appointed commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies.†

ON the 2d of July, Gen. Howe landed his troops on Staten-Island, where he was soon joined by Lord Howe, with the grand armament. Thence his lordship sent on shore by a flag to Amboy a circular letter, together with a declaration to several of the late governors of the colonies, acquainting them with the powers with which he and his brother were intrusted, “of granting general or particular pardons to all those, who, though they had deviated from their allegiance, were willing to return to their duty;” and of declaring “any colony, province, county or town, port, district or place, to be at the peace of his


* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 292.* † *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 304.*


1776. majesty." The late governors were requested to publish this declaration. Congress, impressed with a belief, that the proposals of the commissioners, instead of disuniting the people, would produce a contrary effect, ordered them to be speedily published, in the several American newspapers.*

LORD HOWE and his brother also sent two letters to General Washington on the subject, which he refused to accept, because they were not directed in a style suitable to the dignity of his station. Upon receiving the first letter, he wrote to congress on the subject as follows: "I would not on any occasion sacrifice essentials to punctilio; but in this instance, I deemed it a duty to my country and appointment to insist on that respect, which, in any other than a public view, I would willingly have waved." Adjutant-general Paterson, who was the bearer of the last letter, had an interview with Gen. Washington, and observed to him, that "the commissioners were armed with great powers, and would be very happy in effecting an accommodation." They received for answer, "that from what appeared, their powers were only to grant pardon; that they, who had committed no fault, wanted no pardon."† Soon after this interview, a letter from Lord Howe, respecting prisoners, which was properly addressed to General Washington, was received.‡

THE whole continental army, in and near New-York, at this critical period, amounted only to

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 296.* † *Washington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 185.* ‡ *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 297.*

17,225 men. These were chiefly new troops, and 1776.
 were much scattered, some being fifteen miles apart. 

THE decision of the controversy was now, by Aug. 27.
 consent of both parties, left to the sword. The 
 British army resolved to make their first attempt on
 Long-Island; and landed without opposition be-
 tween two small towns, Utrecht and Gravesend.
 The night before the battle commenced, Gen.
 Clinton found means to secure a pass of great im-
 portance, which lay at a distance, and was not
 sufficiently guarded by the Americans. This gave
 an opportunity to a large body of troops, under
 Lord Percy and Gen. Clinton, to attack the
 Americans in the rear, while they were engaged
 with the Hessians in front. An action commenced
 soon after day-break, in which the Americans were
 surrounded on all sides, and entirely defeated.
 Those, who were engaged with the Hessians, first
 began a retreat towards their camp; but the
 passage was intercepted by the British troops, who
 drove them back into the woods. Here they were
 met by the Hessians; and thus for many hours
 slaughtered between the two parties. The only
 way to escape was by breaking through the British
 troops, and thus regaining their camp. This was
 effected by some of the regiments.*

THE Americans under Lord Stirling, who were
 engaged with Gen. Grant, fought with great reso-
 lution for about six hours. They were so late in
 their knowledge of Gen. Clinton's movements,
 that their retreat was intercepted by some of the

* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 306—309.*

1776. British troops, who had traversed the whole extent of country in their rear. Several, notwithstanding, broke through the enemy's line, and got into the woods. Numbers threw themselves into the marsh at Gorvan's cove; some were drowned, and others perished in the mud; but a considerable body escaped by this way to their lines.*

THE loss of the British and Hessians was about 450. The killed, wounded and prisoners of the Americans, including those, who were drowned and perished in the woods or mud, considerably exceeded 1000. Gen. Sullivan, Lord Stirling, and a number of other officers, were among the prisoners. A regiment, consisting of young gentlemen of fortune and family in Maryland, was almost entirely cut in pieces, and of the survivors not one escaped without a wound. The British after their victory were so impetuous, that it was with difficulty that they could be restrained, by General Howe's orders, from attacking the American lines.†

Aug. 30 AFTER this unfortunate engagement, Gen. Washington called a council of war, who determined upon an immediate retreat to New-York. The intention was prudently concealed from the army, who knew not whither they were going, but imagined it was to attack the enemy. The field artillery, tents, baggage, and about 9000 men, were conveyed to the city of New-York, over East-river, more than a mile wide, in less than thirteen hours, and without the knowledge of the British, though not six hundred yards distant.

* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 310.* † *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 307.*

Providence, in a remarkable manner, favored the retreating army. The wind, which seemed to prevent the troops getting over at the appointed hour, afterwards shifted to their wishes. Towards morning an extreme thick fog came on, which hovered over Long-Island, and, by concealing the Americans, enabled them to complete their retreat without interruption, though the day had begun to dawn some time before it was finished. In about half an hour after the island was finally abandoned, the fog cleared off, and the British were seen taking possession of the American lines.*

“PERHAPS the fate of America was never suspended on a more brittle thread, than previously to this memorable retreat. A spectacle is here presented of an army, destined for the defence of a great continent, driven to the narrow borders of an island, with a victorious army of double its numbers in front, with navigable waters in its rear; constantly liable to have its communication cut off by the enemy’s navy, and every moment exposed to an attack. The presence of mind, which animated the commander in chief, in this critical situation; the prudence, with which all the necessary measures were executed, redounded as much, or more to his honor, than the most brilliant victories. An army, to which America looked for safety, preserved! A general, who was considered as an host himself, saved for the future necessities of his country. Had not, however, the circumstances of the night, of the wind and wea-

* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 314. Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 302.*

1776. ther, been favorable to this operation, the plan, however well concerted, must have been defeated. To a good Providence, therefore, are the people of America indebted for the complete success of an enterprize so important in its consequences.

“ THIS retreat left the British in complete possession of Long-Island. What would be their future operations, remained uncertain. To obtain information of their situation, their strength and future movements, was of high importance. For this purpose, General Washington applied to col. Knowlton, who commanded a regiment of light infantry, which formed the van of the American army, and desired him to adopt some mode of gaining the necessary information. Col. Knowlton communicated this request to captain Nathan Hale, of Connecticut, who was then a captain in his regiment.

“ THIS young officer, animated by a sense of duty, and considering that an opportunity presented itself, by which he might be useful to his country, at once offered himself a volunteer for this hazardous service. He passed in disguise to Long-Island, examined every part of the British army, and obtained the best possible information respecting their situation and future operations.

“ IN his attempt to return he was apprehended, carried before Sir William Howe, and the proof of his object was so clear, that he frankly acknowledged who he was, and what were his views.

“ SIR William Howe at once gave an order to the provost marshal to execute him the next morning.

“ This order was accordingly executed, in a 1776, most unfeeling manner, and by as great a savage as ever disgraced humanity. A clergyman, whose attendance he desired, was refused him; a bible for a few moments devotion was not procured, although he requested it. Letters, which, on the morning of his execution, he wrote to his mother, and other friends, were destroyed; and this very extraordinary reason given by the provost marshal, “ that the rebels should not know they had a man in their army who could die with so much firmness.”

“ UNKNOWN to all around him, without a single friend to offer him the least consolation, thus fell as amiable and as worthy a young man as America could boast, with this, as his dying observation, “ that he only lamented, that he had but one life to lose for his country.”

“ ALTHOUGH the manner of this execution will ever be abhorred by every friend to humanity and religion, yet there cannot be a question but that the sentence was conformable to the rules of war, and the practice of nations in similar cases.

“ IT is, however, a justice due to the character of captain Hale to observe, that his motives for engaging in this service were entirely different from those, which generally influence others in similar circumstances.

“ NEITHER expectation of promotion, nor pecuniary reward, induced him to this attempt. A sense of duty, a hope that he might in this way be useful to his country, and an opinion, which he

1776. had adopted, that every kind of service necessary to the public good, became honorable, by being necessary, were the great motives, which induced him to engage in an enterprize, by which his connexions lost a most amiable friend, and his country one of its most promising supporters.

“ THE fate of this unfortunate young man excites the most interesting reflections.

“ To see such a character, in the flower of youth, cheerfully treading in the most hazardous paths, influenced by the purest intentions, and only emulous to do good to his country, without the imputation of a crime, fall a victim to policy, must have been wounding to the feelings, even of his enemies.

“ SHOULD a comparison be drawn between major Andre and captain Hale, injustice would be done to the latter, should he not be placed on an equal ground with the former. Whilst almost every historian of the American revolution has celebrated the virtues, and lamented the fate of Andre, Hale has remained unnoticed, and it is scarcely known such a character ever existed.*

* Dr. Dwight, however, has the following beautiful lines on capt. Hale, in his *Conquest of Canaan*, Book I. p 3, 4.

“ Thus, while fond virtue wished in vain to save,
Hale, bright and generous, found a hapless grave;
With genius' living flame his bosom glow'd,
And science charm'd him to her sweet abode.
In worth's fair path his feet adventur'd far,
The pride of peace, the rising grace of war.
In duty firm, in danger calm as even,
To friends unchanging, and sincere to heaven.
How short his course, the prize how early won,
While weeping Friendship mourns her favorite gone.”

“To the memory of Andre, his country have 1776.
erected the most magnificent monuments, and
bestowed on his family the highest honors, and
most liberal rewards. To the memory of Hale,
not a stone has been erected, nor an inscription to
preserve his ashes from insult.”*

UNDER the idea that the victory at Long-Island would intimidate the congress into a compliance with his terms, Lord Howe sent Gen. Sullivan on parole, with a message to that body, importing, that, “though he could not consistently treat with them as a legal assembly, he was desirous of conferring with some of their members, in their private capacity;” setting forth, at the same time, the nature and extent of the powers, that were vested in him and his brother, as commissioners. They replied, that “the congress of the free and independent states of America could not, with propriety, send any of its members in any other capacity than that, which they had publicly assumed; but that, ever desirous of establishing peace on equitable conditions, they would appoint a committee of their body, to hear what proposals he could make for that purpose.”†

THE committee, appointed by congress, was composed of John Adams, the present president of the United States, Dr. Franklin, and Edward Rutledge. They met Lord Howe on Staten-Island, and were received with great politeness. The

* The compiler of the History of New-England is indebted to Major-General Hull, of Newton, for the interesting account of captain Hale. † Ramsay.

1776. committee behaved with dignity, and explicitly assured his lordship, that neither they, nor the congress which sent them, had authority to treat in any other capacity, than as independent states. Lord Howe ended the conference on his part, by expressing his regard for America, and the extreme pain he should suffer, in being obliged to distress those, whom he so much regarded. Dr. Franklin thanked him for his regards, and assured him, "that the Americans would shew their gratitude, by endeavouring to lessen, as much as possible, all pain he might feel on their account, by exerting their utmost abilities, in taking good care of themselves."*

THE unsuccessful termination of the battle on Long-Island greatly dispirited the continental army. Whole companies of militia relinquished the camp. Their example infected the regular regiments. General Mercer, who commanded the flying camp, in a letter dated September 4, gives the following description: "General Washington has not, as far as I have seen, five thousand men to be depended on for the service of the campaign; and I have not a thousand. Both our armies are composed of raw militia, perpetually fluctuating between the camp and their farms; poorly armed, and still worse disciplined." In this critical situation, it was determined to act on the defensive, and not risk the army for the sake of New-York. The public stores were removed to Dobbs' ferry, about twenty-six miles

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 304.*

from the city. Twelve thousand men were ordered to the northern extremity of New-York island, and four thousand five hundred were left in the city. Before the British landed, it was impossible to tell what place would be first attacked. For this reason, works were erected for the defence of a variety of places, as well as New-York; and these were occupied by the remainder of the troops.*

GENERAL Howe, having prepared every thing for a descent on New-York island, began to land his men under cover of ships of war, between Kepp's bay and Turtle bay, where breast-works had been erected, and a party stationed to oppose the British. General Washington, in his letters to congress, thus describes the scene which ensued. "As soon as I heard the firing, I rode with all possible dispatch towards the place of landing, when, to my great surprize and mortification, I found the troops, that had been posted in the lines, retreating with the utmost precipitation, and those ordered to support them (Parsons' and Fellows' brigades) flying in every direction, and in the greatest confusion, notwithstanding the exertions of their generals to form them. I used every means in my power to rally and get them in some order; but my attempts were fruitless and ineffectual; and on the appearance of a small party of the enemy (not more than sixty or seventy) their disorder increased, and they ran away in the greatest confusion, without firing a single gun."†

* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 316—325. Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 304, 305. Washington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 231, 237. † Ibid, p. 246.*

1776. GENERAL Washington was highly distressed by this cowardly conduct, and under the most lively apprehensions of its fatal consequences. Impressed with these ideas, he hazarded his person for some considerable time in the rear of his own men, and in front of the enemy, with his horse's head towards the latter, as if in expectation, that, by an honorable death, he might escape the infamy he dreaded, from the dastardly conduct of troops on whom he could place no dependance. His aids, and the confidential friends around his person, by indirect violence, compelled him to retire; in consequence of which, his life was preserved for public service.*

THE subsequent day, a skirmish took place between two battalions of light infantry and Highlanders, commanded by brigadier-general Leslie, and some detachments from the American army, under the command of lieutenant-col. Knowlton, of Connecticut, and major Leitch, of Virginia. The colonel was killed, and the major dangerously wounded. Their men behaved with great bravery, and fairly beat the enemy from the field. Most of these were the same men, who had disgraced themselves the day before by flight. Struck with a sense of shame, they had offered themselves as volunteers, and requested the commander in chief to give them an opportunity to retrieve their honor. In this manner the general employed his troops in continual skirmishes, in order to annoy the enemy, and inure them to actual service; by

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 506, 507.*

which means they soon recovered their spirits, 1776, and behaved with their usual boldness.*

THE Americans having evacuated New-York, Oct. 12. a brigade of the British marched into it. In order to cut off General Washington's communication with the eastern states, General Howe left Lord Percy, with a sufficient force to garrison this city, and embarking his army in flat-bottomed boats, passed through Hell-gate, and landed on Frogs-neck, in West-Chester county. Two days after the movement of the royal army, General Lee arrived from Charleston, and, at a council of war, pressed the necessity of evacuating Fort-Washington, and the whole island of New-York. General Greene opposed the evacuation of Fort-Washington and Fort-Lee, opposite to the Jersey shore, as they would divert a large body of the enemy from joining their main force; and would also cover the transportation of provisions and stores up the North-river, for the service of the American troops. His opinion prevailed. New-York island was evacuated; but garrisons were left in Fort-Washington and Fort-Lee; three thousand men being assigned for the defence of the former.†

GEN. Washington, while retreating from New-York island, was careful to make a front towards the British, from East-Chester almost to White Plains, in order to secure the march of those, who were left behind, and to defend the removal of the sick, the cannon and stores of the army. A con-

* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 307. Lendrum, Vol. II. p. 114.*

† *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 336-338. Lendrum, Vol. II. p. 116.*

1776. fiderable action enfued at White Plains, in which
 ~~~~~ feveral hundreds fell, but nothing decifive took  
 place.

Nov. 12. THE British met with completē fuccels in reducing  
 ~~~~~ the forts, which the Americans retained in New-  
 York ifland, Fort-Washington, which was com-
 manded by col. Magaw, was attacked in four different
 places at once, and quickly reduced. The num-
 ber of prifoners amounted to about 2700. They
 were confidered by the articles of capitulation as
 prifoners of war, and the officers were allowed to
 keep their baggage and fide arms. Soon after,
 Lord Cornwallis, with a confiderable force, paffed
 Nov. 18, over to attack Fort-Lee, on the oppofite Jerfey
 ~~~~~ fhore. The garrifon were faved, by immediate  
 evacuation, at the expence of their artillery and  
 ftokes.

THESE difaftrous events, and the diminution of  
 the American army, by the departure of thofe,  
 whose time of fervice had expired, encouraged the  
 British, notwithstanding the feverity of the winter,  
 and the badnefs of the roads, to purfue the re-  
 maining inconfiderable continental force, with the  
 profpect of annihilating it. By this turn of af-  
 fairs, the interior country was furprized into con-  
 fufion, and found an enemy within its bowels,  
 without a fufficient army to oppofe it. To retreat  
 was the only expedient left. This having com-  
 menced, Lord Cornwallis followed, and was clofe  
 in the rear of Gen. Washington, as he retreated  
 fucceffively to Newark, to Brunfwick, to Prince-  
 ton, to Trenton, and to the Pennsylvania fide of



the Delaware. The pursuit was urged with so much rapidity, that the rear of the one army, pulling down bridges, was often within sight and shot of the van of the other, building them up.\*

THIS retreat into and through New-Jersey commenced in a few days after the réduction of Fort-Washington. The army was almost constantly diminishing; and the small force, which remained, in want of necessary articles. In this gloomy state of public affairs, numbers changed sides, and went over to the British. Some of the leading men in New-Jersey and Pennsylvania adopted this expedient.

DURING the royal successes in the Jerseys, Gen. Clinton, with four brigades of British and Hessian troops, and a squadron of men of war under Sir Peter Parker, was sent to attempt the conquest of Rhode-Island. It was taken without the loss of a man; the American forces being incapable of making effectual resistance. Hence, on the day that Gen. Washington crossed the Delaware, the British took possession of the island, and at the same time blocked up commodore Hopkins' squadron, and a number of privateers at Providence.†

IN this alarming situation of affairs, Gen. Lee was taken prisoner at Baskenridge, by a party of British light-horse, commanded by col. Harcourt. This event greatly depressed the spirits of the Americans, who had reposed extravagant confidence in his military talents, and experience of regular European war.‡

\* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 312.* † *Ibid, p. 313.* ‡ *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 369.* † *Lee's Memoirs. p. 14.*

1776. EVERY circumstance seemed, at this period, unfavorable to the Americans. The northern forces at Ticonderoga were in a disagreeable situation. After they were expelled from Canada, their naval force was nearly destroyed, and the British had undisputed possession of Lake Champlain. With the close of this year, a retreating half naked army was to be dismissed, and the prospect of a new one was both distant and uncertain. The recently assumed independence of the states was apparently on the verge of dissolution.

Dec. 19. IN proportion as difficulties increased, congress redoubled their exertions; and evinced that firmness and energy of mind, which no dangers could discourage. They addressed the states in animated language, calculated to remove their despondency, renew their hopes, and confirm their resolutions. At the same time they dispatched gentlemen of character and influence, to excite the militia to take the field. They also recommended to the United States to appoint a day of solemn fasting and prayer.\*

Dec. 27. IN this dangerous situation of affairs, congress transferred extraordinary powers to Gen. Washington, for the limited term of six months, unless sooner determined by their authority. He was empowered to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier-general; to reform and new model the military arrangements, in such a manner as he judged best for the public service; to raise 16 battalions of infantry, 3000 light-horse,

\* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 315.*

three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers, 1776. in addition to those already voted by congress; to establish their pay; to form magazines; to take whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, upon paying a reasonable price for the same; to enforce the acceptance of continental currency; to present the names and offences of the disaffected, together with the witnesses to prove them.\*

THE thick cloud which at present impended, did not induce congress to entertain the most distant idea of purchasing peace by returning to the condition of British subjects. On the other hand, they firmly resolved to abide by their declared independence; and preferred freedom of trade to any foreign nation, trusting the event to Providence, and risking all consequences. Copies of these resolutions were dispatched to the principal courts of Europe; and proper persons appointed to solicit their friendship to the new formed states.†

IN this crisis of danger, 1500 of the Pennsylvania militia embodied, to reinforce the continental army. The number of troops at this time under the command of Gen. Washington, fluctuated between 2 and 3000 men. With this small force, he formed the bold resolution of recrossing into the state of New-Jersey, and attacking that part of the enemy, which was posted at Trenton. This party were in a state of perfect security, supposing it impossible for the Americans, under their disadvan-

\* Gordon, Vol. II. p. 405. Lendrum, Vol. II. p. 126.

† Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 317.



1776. tages; to commence offensive operations. It has been said that col. Rahl, the commanding officer in Trenton, being under some apprehensions for that frontier post, applied to Gen. Grant for a reinforcement, and that the general returned for answer, "tell the colonel he is very safe; I will undertake to keep the peace in New-Jersey with a corporal's guard."\*

ON the night of the 25th of December, Gen. Washington crossed the Delaware, and at day-break marched down to Trenton. He so completely surprized the enemy, that finding they were surrounded, and that they must inevitably be cut to pieces by making further resistance, they agreed to lay down their arms. The number that submitted, were 23 officers, and 886 men. Between 30 and 40 of the Hessians were killed and wounded. Col. Rahl was among the number, who were slain. Capt. Washington, of the Virginia troops, and five or six of the Americans, were wounded. Two were killed, and two or three frozen to death; the night on which they crossed the Delaware, being remarkable for the severity of the cold, and a violent storm of hail.†

SMALL reinforcements from several quarters arrived, and, after securing the Hessian prisoners, Gen. Washington recrossed the Delaware, and took possession of Trenton.

"GLOOMY, however, were his prospects in this situation. The close of the year 1776, terminated the engagements of almost the whole of the conti-

\* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 319.* † *Ibid.*

mental army, especially that part from New-England. The British were collecting in strong force in Princeton in his front; the Delaware was in his rear, and the ice floated down in such quantities, that a retreat became very difficult, if not impossible. It is hardly possible to conceive, that the position of an army could be more critical, or the fate of a country more hazardous, than at this moment. It remained for the genius of a Washington, and the exertions of a patriot army, to surmount the difficulties, which presented themselves.

“THE first object of the general was to persuade the continental troops to engage for six weeks. As an inducement, he called on their patriotism, and the dreadful consequences of their abandoning him in that situation. He pointed out the dangers and difficulties of retiring to their homes, hemmed in as they were by the enemy on one side, and by the elements on the other. He made a personal address to the different regiments, and in such persuasive language, that it produced the desired effect. Although the soldiers had been a year from their homes, had passed through unparalleled scenes of danger and fatigue, were so destitute of necessary clothing, that it was easy to trace them by the blood from their feet, yet they almost unanimously complied with his request. Perhaps the annals of history do not present a brighter example of disinterested patriotism, than was exhibited on this occasion.

“WHEN we consider the inclemency of the season, the naked condition of the troops, the anxiety

1776. ety, which is naturally felt by men who had passed through so many interesting scenes, to return to their homes, repose from their labors, and relate the wonderful events, which they had witnessed, and in which they had been actors, it is almost a miracle that any consideration could have prevailed on them to adopt the measure.

“THE consequences of this laudable conduct were as happy to America as it was honorable to the general, who projected it, and the army, which had adopted it.

“THE strength of the British army, having been collected at Princeton, in consequence of the defeat of the Hessians, and the command having been intrusted to that distinguished officer, Lord Cornwallis, in the afternoon of the 2d of January, 1777, he appeared in strong force in the vicinity of Trenton. Skirmishes took place between the two armies, in the progress of the British, which impeded their movements, and afforded the American army an opportunity of removing all their stores, artillery, &c. on the south side of the creek, where the army finally retired towards evening, and took a position with the creek in their front, their left extending towards the Delaware, and their right towards Princeton, about two miles from the mouth of the creek. The British army advanced with great rapidity into the town, attempted to force the bridge over the creek; but not being able to effect it, took possession of the town, and the high grounds on the creek, directly opposite to the American army.



“NIGHT put an end to the operations, and left the two armies in the positions, which have been described. Early in the evening, Gen. Washington called a council of war, and described the very critical situation in which he was placed. That he considered the fate of his country impending on the operations of that night. That it was impossible to repass the Delaware, on account of the ice. That the British army was so far superior in point of numbers, that to risk an action on that ground would probably be fatal, and that some decided measure must be adopted. He then stated the force which was probably left at Princeton; and amidst a choice of difficulties, thought an attempt to make a circuitous march, so as to reach that place by day-light in the morning, was the least. 1777.

“The council of war approved of the measure, and orders were communicated to the different regiments, about eleven o’clock in the evening, to light up their fires, and to be ready to march at a moment’s warning. About twelve at night, the army began its march, leaving their fires lighted, and the centinels on the margin of the creek, who were to remain until day-light in the morning, and then make their way off in the best manner possible.”\*

By a providential interposition, the weather, which had been for some time past warm, moist and foggy, suddenly changed; and soon rendered

\* *The compiler of the History of New-England is indebted to Major-General Hull, of Newton, for the above account of the situation of the American army, after the battle of Trenton, who was himself in the scene he has so accurately described.*

1777. the road, which had been deep and heavy, firm and smooth as a pavement.\*

Jan. 3. GENERAL Washington reached Princeton early in the morning, and would have completely surprized the British, had not a party, which were on their way to Trenton, descried his troops, when they were about two miles distant, and sent back couriers to alarm their unsuspecting fellow soldiers in the rear. The centre of the Americans, consisting of the Philadelphia militia, whilst on their line of march, was briskly charged by a party of the British, and gave way in disorder. At this critical moment, General Washington pushed forward, and placed himself between his own men and the British, with his horse's head fronting the latter. The Americans, encouraged by his example and exhortations, made a stand, and returned the British fire. The general, though between both parties, was providentially uninjured by either. A party of the British fled into the college, and were there attacked. The seat of the muses became for some time the scene of action. The party, who had taken refuge in the college, after receiving a few discharges from the American field-pieces, came out and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In the course of the engagement, 60 of the British were killed, a greater number wounded, and about 300 were taken prisoners. The remainder made their escape. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable in point of numbers; but the death of Gen. Mercer was justly and deeply lamented.

\* *Gordon, Vol. II p. 400, 401. Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 325.*

THESE important events filled the British with 1777. consternation, and deranged all their plans. They were soon obliged to evacuate both Trenton and Princeton. The American militia collected, and forming themselves into parties, waylaid their enemies, and cut them off whenever an opportunity presented. In a few days they overran the Jerseys. Gen. Maxwell surprized Elizabethtown, and took about 100 prisoners. The royal troops abandoned Newark and Woodbridge; and were confined to Amboy and Brunswick, which held a water communication with New-York. Thus, in the short space of a month, that part of Jersey, which lies between New-Brunswick and Delaware, was both overrun by the British, and recovered by the Americans. The unbounded rapacity and cruelty of the British and Hessian foldiers stimulated the militia of Jersey to revenge, and inspired them with courage in the defence of their country.\*

AFTER the victories of Trenton and Princeton, major-general Putnam was directed to take post at Princeton, and cover the country in the vicinity. He had only a few hundred troops, though he was no more than eighteen miles distant from the strong garrison of the British at Brunswick. At one period he had fewer men for duty than he had miles of frontier to guard.† The force of General Washington was so inconsiderable, that he thus wrote, by the middle of March. “After the fifteenth, when General Lincoln’s militia leave us,

\* *Ramsay, Vol. I. p. 326, 327. 328.*

† *Humphreys’ Life of Putnam, p. 150.*



1777. we shall only have the remains of the five Virginia regiments, who do not amount all together to more than 5 or 600 men, and two of the other continental battalions, very weak. The rest of our army is composed of small parties of militia, from this state and Pennsylvania, and little dependance can be put on the militia, as they come and go when they please. If the enemy do not move, it will be a miracle. Nothing but ignorance of our numbers and situation can protect us."\* Notwithstanding the Americans were obliged to contend with far superior force, and in 1776 an uncommon sickness raged in their army; they were enabled, by the firmness of congress, and the heroic enterprises of their general, to close the campaign of this year with advantage, which at its commencement threatened the country with destruction.

\* *Washington's Letters.*



## CHAPTER XXX.

*The American army recruited. Stores at Peek's-kill destroyed. Magazines destroyed at Danbury. Gen. Wooster killed. The American expedition against Long-Island, under colonel Meigs. General Prescott taken. The British plan an attempt against Philadelphia. General Washington advances to the relief of that city. Battle at Brandywine. Congress flee to Yorktown. Philadelphia taken. Battle at Germantown. Passage of the Delaware opened to Philadelphia.*

SOON after the declaration of independence, the authority of congress was obtained, for raising an army, that would be more permanent than the temporary levies, which they had previously brought into the field. For this purpose the recruiting officers were instructed to offer the alternative of enlisting either for the war, or for three years. Those who engaged on the first conditions, were promised an hundred acres of land, in addition to their pay and bounty. The troops raised by congress for the service of the United States, were called continentals. Though in September, 1776, it had been resolved, to raise 88 battalions, and in December following authority was given to General Washington to raise 16 more, yet very little progress had been made in

1777. the recruiting business, till after the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Even after that period, so much time was necessarily consumed before these new recruits joined the commander in chief, that his whole force at Morristown, and the several outposts, for some time, did not exceed 1500 men. Yet, what is almost incredible, these 1500 kept as many thousands of the British closely pent up in Brunswick. Almost every party that was sent out by the latter, was successfully opposed by the former, and the adjacent country preserved, in a great degree of tranquility.\*

It was matter of astonishment, that the British suffered the dangerous interval, between the disbanding of one army, and the raising of another, to pass away without attempting something of consequence against the remaining shadow of an armed force.

THOUGH General Howe made no capital stroke against the Americans at this time, he concerted an operation against the post at Peek's-kill, which General M'Dougal occupied, and where provisions and stores were deposited. Colonel Bird, with a detachment of 500 men, was convoyed by the Mar. 23. Brune frigate to Peek's-kill, nearly fifty miles from New-York. At his approach, the few Americans, who were stationed as a guard at this post, fired the principal store-houses, and retired to a good position, about two or three miles distant. The loss of provisions, forage, and other valuable articles, was considerable.†

\* Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 3. † Gordon, Vol. II. p. 223.



Soon after, major-general Tryon, with a detachment of 3000 men, embarked at New-York, and passing through the sound, landed between Fairfield and Norwalk. They then marched to Danbury; and the few continentals who were in the town withdrew upon their approach. With wanton barbarity they burnt the place, and destroyed a large number of valuable articles. Upon their return from this expedition, Generals Wooster, Arnold and Silliman, having hastily collected a few hundreds of the inhabitants, made arrangements for interrupting their march; and they greatly annoyed the invaders, when returning to their ships. General Arnold, with about 500 men, by a rapid movement, reached Ridgefield, in their front, barricaded the road, kept up a brisk fire upon them, and sustained their attack, till they had made a lodgement on a ledge of rocks upon his left. After the British had gained this eminence, a whole platoon levelled at General Arnold, not more than thirty yards distant; but one shot had effect, and that killed his horse. He had presence of mind to take his pistols, and escaped by shooting a soldier, who, while he was extricating himself from his horse, was advancing hastily to run him through with his bayonet. The Americans, in several detached parties, harrassed the rear of the British; and from various stands, kept up a scattering fire upon them, till they reached their shipping.\*

\* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 465. Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 3.*

1777. IN accomplishing this expedition, the British had two or three hundred men killed, wounded or taken. The loss of the Americans was about twenty killed, and forty wounded. Among the slain was the brave General Wooster, a native of New-Haven, who, though seventy years of age, behaved with the spirit and vigor of youth.

May 24. SOON afterwards, colonel Meigs, an enterprising officer, transported a detachment of about 170 Americans, in whale boats, over the sound, which separates Long-Island from Connecticut. This party burned twelve brigs and sloops belonging to the British; destroyed the stores collected for their use in Sagg-harbor, on that island; killed six of their soldiers, and brought off ninety prisoners, without having a single man killed or wounded.\*

AT the opening of the campaign, the American army in New-Jersey amounted only to 7272 men. The military manœuvres of General Howe, at this period, were such, that his determined object could not be ascertained. In the mean time a spirited adventure took place at Rhode-Island. Lieutenant-colonel Barton, of a militia regiment of that state, accompanied by about 40 volunteers, passed by night from Warwick-neck to Rhode-Island; and though they had ten miles to pass by water, they eluded the ships of war and guard-boats, with which the island was surrounded. The enterprize was conducted with such silence and dexterity, that they surprized General Prescott in his quarters, and brought him and one of his aids safe off

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 4.*

to the continent. This event retaliated the capture of General Lee, and proved an indemnification of his person.\* 1777.

AT length the uncertainty in which General Howe's designs had been enveloped was dispersed, and the possession of Philadelphia discovered to be his object.

THE royal army set out from the eastern heads of the Chesapeak, on the 3d of September, leaving their tents and baggage behind, and trusted their future accommodation to such quarters as their arms might procure. They advanced till they were within two miles of the American army, which was then posted near Newport. General Washington soon changed his position, and took post on the high ground near Chadd's fort, on the Brandywine creek, with an intention of disputing the passage. Though the American regular troops were greatly inferior, both in discipline and numbers, to the royal army, General Washington was in a manner obliged to risk an action, for the defence of Philadelphia. The opinion of the inhabitants, though founded on no circumstances more substantial than their wishes, imposed this species of necessity.†

THE British advanced at day-break in two columns, commanded by lieutenant-general Kniphausen, and by Lord Cornwallis. In the afternoon a warm engagement commenced, which lasted till the close of twilight. General Washington, in this action received wrong information from a quarter

\* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 491.* † *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 9.*



1777. he thought himself obliged to credit, relative to the different bodies of the enemy's forces in front; and opposing his strongest part to their weakest, gave them an opportunity of passing their heaviest column, to which the weakest part of the American army was opposed. In consequence of this intelligence, the Americans, after a severe conflict, in which they exhibited great resolution, were obliged to yield to superior force. The day, however, was nearly consumed before the British obtained the victory. The killed and wounded in the royal army amounted nearly to 600; and the loss of the Americans, including prisoners, was estimated at twice that number.\*

HERE the celebrated marquis de la Fayette first bled in defence of liberty. This nobleman, when only nineteen years of age, espoused the cause of the Americans with the most disinterested and generous ardor. His attachment continued unabated, during the most alarming situation of their affairs; and he determined to join their army, and serve the cause he had long cherished. In 1776, when the continental army was reduced to the lowest ebb, the American commissioners at Paris endeavoured in vain to alter his purpose. He risked his liberty and fortune, and fitted out a vessel, in which he arrived in Charleston early in 1777, and soon joined the American army. Congress, in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connexions, gave him the rank of major-general. He accepted the appointment, after exacting two con-

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 9.*

ditions. The one, that he should serve at his own expence; the other, that he should begin his services as a volunteer. Notwithstanding the wound he received at the battle of Brandywine, he continued in the field, and exerted himself in rallying the Americans.\*

THE Americans at this time suffered a considerable loss. General Howe, having received intelligence that General Wayne was encamped in the woods, with a corps of 1500 men, detached Gen. Grey late at night, with two regiments and a body of light infantry, to surprize him. This detachment killed and wounded 300 of the Americans, by a free and exclusive use of the bayonet. The enterprize was conducted with so much address, that the loss of the assailants did not exceed eight.†

CONGRESS, who after a short residence at Baltimore, had returned to Philadelphia, were obliged a second time to consult their safety by flight. They retired at first to Lancaster, and afterwards to Yorktown.

ON the 26th of September, Sir William Howe made his triumphal entry into Philadelphia, with a small part of his army, and where he was most cordially received by the royalists. The bulk of his troops were left in and about Germantown, a village forming one continued street for about two miles. General Washington's army was encamped near Skippack creek, about eighteen miles from thence.

\* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 500. Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 11. † Ibid, p. 13.*

1777. GENERAL Washington being informed, that  
 Oct. 4. General Howe had detached a considerable part of  
 his force for reducing the forts on the Delaware, conceived the design of attacking the British post at Germantown. In the commencement of the action, the Americans were successful; but these promising appearances were speedily reversed. The morning was extremely foggy; this, by concealing the true situation of the parties, who made the attack at different places, occasioned mistakes, and made so much caution necessary, as to give the British time to recover from the effects of their first surprize. The Americans, however, made a resolute assault; but they were compelled to retreat, and all efforts to rally them proved ineffectual. The loss of the royal army, including the wounded and prisoners, was about five hundred. Among their slain were brigadier-general Agnew, and lieutenant-colonel Bird. The loss of the Americans, including four hundred prisoners, was about a thousand. Among their slain were General Nash, and his aid-de-camp, major Witherspoon.\*

SOON after the battle, the royal army left Germantown, and turned their principal attention towards opening a free communication between their army and shipping.

THE British were apprized, that without the command of the Delaware, their possession of Philadelphia would be of no advantage. This induced General and Admiral Howe to concert

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 16.*



the most vigorous measures for opening the navigation of that river. Batteries were erected on the Pennsylvania shore, to assist in dislodging the Americans from Mud-Island. At the same time Count Donop, with 2000 men, having crossed into New-Jersey, opposite Philadelphia, marched down on the eastern side of the Delaware, to attack the redoubt at Red Bank. In this attempt Count Donop was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner; and 400 of the royal detachment were killed and wounded.\*

THE expedition against Mud-Island met with better success; the Americans being driven thence, and forced to retire to Red Bank.

AFTER various exertions, the British accomplished their object; however, the Americans, by protracting the defence of the Delaware, deranged their plans for the remainder of the campaign, and consequently saved the adjacent country.

WHILST Sir William Howe was succeeding in every enterprize in Philadelphia, intelligence arrived that General Burgoyne, with his whole army, had surrendered as prisoners of war at Saratoga, which will be related, in the account of the northern campaign, in the subsequent chapter.

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 16-19.*

A A A



## CHAPTER XXXI.

*Plan of the British in the northern campaign of 1777. Conduct of that expedition committed to lieutenant-general Burgoyne. His proclamation. Ticonderoga besieged. Abandoned by Gen. St. Clair. His conduct at first is highly censured; but, at length, he is honorably acquitted. The Americans recruit their army. Gen. Stark defeats colonels Baum and Breyman, in an attempt to surprize the magazines at Bennington. Gen. Burgoyne passes North-river, at Saratoga, and advances to attack the American army at Stillwater. Severe actions on the 19th of September, and 7th of October. The British army nearly surrounded on all sides. Convention concluded with Gen. Gates. State of both armies. Sir Henry Clinton's devastations on the North-river.*

ONE great object in the ministerial plan for the campaign of 1777, was to effect a free communication between New-York and Canada, and to maintain the navigation of the intermediate lakes. On the other hand, the Americans were very early attentive to their security in that quarter, and had placed every possible obstruction in their way.

THE British ministry were very sanguine in their hopes, from the consequences of forming a line of

communication between New-York and Canada. 1777. They considered the New-England people to be the foul of the confederacy, and promised themselves much by severing them from all free communication with the neighboring states. They hoped, when this was accomplished, to be able to surround them so effectually with fleets and armies, and Indian allies, as to compel their submission. Animated with these expectations, they assiduously endeavoured to ensure the success of the plans they had formed for this purpose.\*

THE command in the northern department was transferred from Sir Guy Carlton to General Burgoyne, an officer of distinguished reputation, whose spirit of enterprize, and thirst for military fame, could not be exceeded. The forces allotted to him, consisting of British and German troops, amounted to more than 7000 men, exclusive of the artillery-corps. A powerful train of artillery, with brass pieces, was furnished. Besides the regular forces, several tribes of Indians were induced to come into the field. The army was in every respect in the best condition, the troops were in the highest spirits, admirably disciplined, and uncommonly healthy.†

AFTER issuing a proclamation, in which the power of Britain was displayed in the most ostentatious terms, General Burgoyne advanced with his army to Crown-Point. At this place he issued orders, of which the following words are part : “ The army embarks to-morrow to approach the

\* *Ranfay, Vol. II. p. 25.* † *Ibid.*



1777. enemy. The services required on this expedition are critical and conspicuous. During our progress occasions may occur, in which nor difficulty, nor labor, nor life are to be regarded. This army must not retreat.”\*

GEN. Burgoyne opened the campaign with the siege of Ticonderoga. This place was garrisoned by 2546 continental troops, and 900 militia, under Gen. St. Clair. However, the works were so extensive, that this number was too small for their defence. The royal army, within a few days after their arrival, had surrounded three fourths of the American works at Ticonderoga, and Mount Independence, and had also advanced a work on Sugar-hill, which when completed would have invested the continental army on all sides. In this situation, Gen. St. Clair resolved to evacuate the post; though he was sensible this measure would expose his conduct to the severest censures. A council of war was called, who unanimously approved his heroic resolution of sacrificing personal reputation to save his army. The evacuation of Ticonderoga was completed with so much secrecy and expedition, that a considerable part of the public stores were saved.†

A DETACHMENT of the British army, under General Frazier, pursued the Americans, upon perceiving they had evacuated their posts, and a bloody conflict ensued. The continental troops, who were commanded by colonel Warner, made a gallant resistance, but, after sustaining considera-

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 28.* † *Ibid, p. 29-31.*

ble loss, were obliged to give way. Colonel Francis, of the American army, fell in this action. He was a very valuable officer, and on this occasion conducted with great gallantry. 1777.

THE evacuation of Ticonderoga was a subject of severe scrutiny. Congress recalled their general officers in the northern department, and ordered an enquiry into their conduct. General St. Clair was charged with incapacity, cowardice and treachery. However, the wisdom and propriety of his conduct was soon after evident; as the army saved by these means stood as a barrier between the inhabitants and General Burgoyne. This abated the panic of the people, and became a centre of rendezvous, to which they repaired. And, when an enquiry into his behavior took place afterwards, all the charges against him were found groundless, and he was honorably acquitted.\* July 6.

THE loss of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence surprized General Washington, and spread astonishment and terror through the New-England states. But though the aspect of their affairs was exceedingly threatening; yet instead of sinking under the apprehensions of danger, they exerted themselves with vigor and firmness to check the progress of the British invaders.†

THE inhabitants of the New-England states were assiduously engaged in recruiting their army, and such numbers of volunteers were daily added, that the people began to recover from their first alarm. It was early conjectured that the royal

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 30-35.* † *Gordon.*

1777. army, by pushing forward, would be so entangled, as not to be able to advance or retreat, on equal terms.

As the principal force of the American army was in front, between General Burgoyne and Albany, he hoped, by advancing to them, to reduce them to the necessity of fighting, or of retreating to New-England. In the march of the British towards Albany, several actions took place between them and the American army. In these different skirmishes, the regulars, as well as the Indians in their interest, suffered very considerably. The principal action happened at Bennington, where the Americans had collected a magazine of supplies, which was guarded only by militia. In order to obtain these provisions for his army, Gen. Burgoyne detached colonel Baum, with only 500 men, 100 Indians, and two field pieces, which he supposed would be sufficient for the expedition. When colonel Baum approached the place of his destination, he found the American militia stronger than had been supposed. He, therefore, took post in the vicinity, entrenched his party, and dispatched an express to General Burgoyne, with an account of his situation. Colonel Breyman was detached to reinforce him. A heavy rain, together with the badness of the roads, prevented his advance to Baum's assistance with dispatch. Gen. Stark, of New-Hampshire, who commanded the American militia at Bennington, engaged with the British, before the junction of the two royal detachments could be effected. On this occasion,



about 800 undisciplined militia, without bayonets, 1777. or a single piece of artillery, attacked and routed 500 regular troops, advantageously posted behind entrenchments, furnished with the best arms, and defended with two pieces of artillery. The field pieces were taken from the party commanded by colonel Baum, and the greatest part of his detachment were either killed or wounded. Colonel Breyman arrived on the same ground, and on the same day; but after the action was over. Instead of meeting his friends, as he expected, he found himself briskly attacked; and though his troops behaved with great resolution, they were, at length compelled to abandon their artillery, and retreat.

IN these two actions the Americans took about 700 prisoners; and a valuable collection of military stores. Their loss, inclusive of the wounded, was about an hundred men.\*

THE victory at Bennington gave spirits and animation to the American army, and occasioned dejection and dismay to the British. Among other embarrassments, it reduced General Burgoyne to the alternative of halting, till he could procure supplies from Fort-George, or of advancing without them, at the risk of being starved. The former was adopted, and the progress of the royal army retarded; which gave the Americans time and opportunity to collect in great numbers.

WHEN General Burgoyne had brought forward from Lake George, the necessary stores for thirty days subsistence, he crossed Hudson's river, and en-

\* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 538-541. Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 41-43.*

1777. camped on the heights, about two miles from Gen. Gates' camp, which was three miles above Stillwater. The Americans, elated by their success at Bennington, came out to meet the advancing British, and engaged them with firmness and resolution. In this action a continual blaze of fire was kept up, and both armies seemed to be determined on death or victory. The Americans and British alternately drove and were driven by each other. Men, and particularly officers, dropped every moment, and on every side. The British lost upwards of 500 men, including their killed, wounded and prisoners. The Americans, inclusive of the missing, lost 319.\*

THIS battle decided nothing; however, it caused a diminution of the zeal and alacrity of the Indians in the British service; and they deserted in great numbers. General Burgoyne was also highly mortified at having no intelligence of the stipulated assistance from Sir Henry Clinton. He now received a letter from him, by which he was informed, that Sir Henry intended to make a diversion on the North-river in his favor. In answer to this communication, he dispatched some trusty persons, with a full account of his distressed situation, and with instructions to press the immediate execution of the proposed co-operation; and to assure General Clinton that he was not able, in point of provisions, to maintain his present position only till the 12th of October.†

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 45, 46.* † *Ibid, p. 47.*

THE army under General Burgoyne continued 1777.  
 to labor under the greatest distresses; so that in Oct. 1.  
 the beginning of October he had been obliged to  
 diminish the allowance of the soldiers. On the  
 7th of the month, the general determined to move  
 towards the Americans. For this purpose he sent  
 a body of 1500 men, to reconnoitre their left  
 wing; intending, if possible, to break through it,  
 in order to effect a retreat. The detachment,  
 however, had not proceeded far, when a violent  
 attack was made on the left wing of the British  
 army, which was with great difficulty preserved  
 from being entirely broken, by a reinforcement  
 brought up by General Frazer, who was killed in  
 the attack. After the troops had, with the most  
 desperate efforts, regained their camp, it was fu-  
 riously assaulted by Gen. Arnold, who, notwith-  
 standing all opposition, would have forced the en-  
 trenchments, had he not received a dangerous  
 wound, which obliged him to retire. Thus the  
 attack failed on the left; but on the right, the  
 camp of the German reserve was forced by the  
 Americans. The regiment of col. M. Jackson,  
 who was then confined by a wound, led on by  
 lieut. col. Brooks and major Hull, made the first  
 successful impression on that part of the lines.  
 Col. Breyman was killed, and his countrymen de-  
 feated with great slaughter. Nine pieces of brass  
 artillery, with all their baggage, fell into the hands  
 of the victors. The day was fatal to many brave  
 men. Among the slain General Frazer, on ac-



1777. count of his distinguished merit, was the subject of particular regret. General Burgoyne had a narrow escape; a shot passed through his hat, and another through his waistcoat. The officers and privates, taken by the Americans, amounted to more than two hundred; but their own loss was inconsiderable.\*

THE royal troops were under arms the whole of the next day, in expectation of another action; but nothing more than skirmishes took place. At this time, General Lincoln, when reconnoitring, received a dangerous wound; an event, which was greatly regretted, as he possessed much of the esteem and confidence of the American army.

ALL this time the American army was increasing, by the continual arrival of militia and volunteers from all parts, particularly from New-England. The situation of the royal army was truly distressing. General Burgoyne was encamped at Saratoga, where he was invested by an army nearly three times the number of his forces, without a possibility of retreat, or of replenishing their exhausted stock of provisions.

ON the 13th of October, he found that his troops had only scanty subsistence for three days, and no prospect of speedy assistance. In this embarrassing situation, he called a council of war, which comprehended generals, field-officers and captains. There was not a spot of ground in the whole camp, but what was exposed to cannon or rifle shot. Whilst the council was deliberating,

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 47, 48. Lendrum, Vol. II. p. 177.*

an eighteen pound ball crossed the table. By 1777. the unanimous advice of the council, the general was induced to open a treaty with Gen. Gates. The first proposals of the latter were rejected; and the sixth article with disdain, wherein it was required, that the British army should lay down their arms in their entrenchments. Burgoyne's counter proposals were unanimously approved, and being sent to Gates, were agreed to on the 15th, without any material alteration.\*

Soon after the convention was signed, the Americans marched into their lines, and were kept there till the royal army had deposited their arms at the place appointed. Dr. Ramsay observes, that "the delicacy with which this business was conducted, reflected the highest honor on the American general. Nor did the politeness of Gates end here. Every circumstance was withheld, that could constitute a triumph in the American army. The captive general was received by his conqueror with respect and kindness. A number of the principal officers of both armies, met at General Gates' quarters, and, for a while, seemed to forget, in social and convivial pleasures, that they had been enemies."†

THE number of those, who surrendered at Saratoga, amounted to 5791; which was very far short of their number when setting out from Canada. The Americans also captured a great variety of valuable military stores, including thirty-five pieces of brass ordnance, of singular excellence.

\* Gordon, Vol. II, p. 572. † Ramsay, Vol. II, p. 83.

1777. The American forces, at the time of the convention, were in all 13,222, of which 4129 were militia. The total loss of the British, by this expedition, was 9213.\*

IN the mean time an expedition was made up the North-river, in order to divert part of the American force from the side of Canada, by Sir Henry Clinton, who had been left in command at New-York. In this excursion, Gen. Vaughan burnt Esopus, a fine flourishing village in the neighborhood of Stillwater.

THE surrender of Saratoga forms a memorable era in the American war. This event caused great grief and dejection in Britain, whilst it animated and encouraged the Americans; and the eclat of capturing a large army of British and German troops, soon procured them powerful friends in Europe.†

DURING the three preceding years, the Americans had resisted the arbitrary measures of Britain with the sword, without the assistance of any foreign power. In the first year, they had exhibited undaunted courage in the battles of Lexington and Bunker's-hill—blockaded the regular army in Boston—expelled the royal governors, and repelled the attempts of the British against the southern colonies. In the year 1776, animated with heroic fortitude, they renounced their allegiance to Britain, and declared independence. In the most gloomy situation of affairs, during this eventful year, we find the Americans, inspired with an

\* Gordon, Vol. II. p. 577. † Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 56.




unconquerable spirit of liberty, persist in defending their recently assumed independence with the sword. In 1777, their affairs began to wear a brighter aspect. The victory of Bennington paved the way for the capture of Burgoyne's army; and the capture of his army was the event, which procured them foreign assistance in the subsequent year. It appears, from this imperfect review, that, *under Heaven*, the blessings of liberty and independence were, chiefly, purchased by the *wise counsels*, the *undaunted resolution*, and the *energetic exertions* of the Americans. However, their success ought ever ultimately to be ascribed to the *good providence of the LORD*. From the first settlement, no nation had ever experienced more extraordinary interpositions of Providence than America; and at no period were those interpositions more singularly visible, than during the controversy with Britain.



## CHAPTER XXXII.

*Treaty between France and America. Lord North's conciliatory bills. British commissioners are sent to negotiate a peace. Their terms are rejected by congress. The royal army burn part of Warren and Bristol. French fleet arrives in America. Philadelphia evacuated. The battle of Freehold, or Monmouth. Congress gives public audience to a minister plenipotentiary from the court of France. Narrow escape of the British fleet. The Americans make an unsuccessful attempt to regain Rhode-Island. Predatory excursions of the British. Their successful expedition against Georgia. Reforms made in the American army.*

SOON after the intelligence of the capture of Burgoyne reached Europe, the king of France concluded treaties of alliance and commerce with the United States, at Paris. This important transaction was the fruit of long negotiation. The policy of Great-Britain, in attempting to deprive the Americans of arms, was the first event, which rendered it necessary for them to seek foreign assistance. The evident advantage, which France might derive from the continuance of the dispute, and the countenance, which individuals of that country daily gave the Americans, encouraged congress to send a political and com-

mercials agent to that kingdom, with instructions to 1777.  
 solicit its friendship, and to procure military stores.   
 Silas Deane, being chosen for this purpose, sailed  
 for France early in 1776, and was soon after his  
 arrival instructed to sound count de Vergennes,  
 the French minister for foreign affairs, on the sub-  
 ject of the American controversy.\* In the month  
 of June, Mr. Deane obtained a supply of arms,  
 ammunition and soldiers' clothing, sufficient for  
 loading three vessels. It is not yet publicly known  
 what agency the court of France had in furnishing  
 these supplies, or whether they were sold or given  
 as presents. However, during the whole negocia-  
 tion, Great-Britain was amused with declarations  
 of the most pacific dispositions on the part of  
 France, whilst the Americans were supplied with  
 the means of defence.

CONGRESS having agreed upon the plan of the  
 treaty, which they intended to propose to his most  
 christian majesty, elected Dr. Franklin, Silas  
 Deane, and Arthur Lee, to solicit its acceptance.  
 The three agents having rendezvoused at Paris,  
 opened their business in a private audience with  
 count de Vergennes on the 28th of December,  
 1776. Though a diminution of the exorbitant  
 power of Britain could not fail to be highly agree-  
 able to France, yet prudence and policy forbad that  
 nation to be precipitate in openly espousing the  
 American cause.

HENCE they artfully avoided either discouraging  
 the Americans, or alarming the rulers of Great-

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 59.*



1777. Britain. Private encouragement, and public dis-  
countenance were given alternately, but both varied, according to the complexion of news from America.\*

AT this period congress did not so much expect any direct assistance from France, as the indirect relief of a war between that country and Great-Britain. Hence, they resolved, that "their commissioners at the court of France should be furnished with warrants and commissions, and authorized to arm and fit for war in the French ports, any number of vessels, not exceeding six, at the expence of the United States, to war upon British property, provided they were satisfied this measure would not be disagreeable to the court of France." This resolution was carried into effect. In the year 1777, marine officers, with American commissions, both sailed out of French ports, and carried prizes of British property into them. They could not procure their condemnation in the courts of France, nor sell them publicly; but they found means to turn them into money.†

IN the mean time the American commissioners were urging the acceptance of the treaty proposed by congress. The French still refused to act openly and decidedly in their favor; and matters remained in a fluctuating state, till the capture of Burgoyne turned the scale. This great event convinced them that there was the utmost probability that the united energetic efforts of the Americans

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 63.* † *Ibid.*

would finally be successful. The French court 1777. was, therefore, determined to espouse their cause.\*

THE commissioners of congress were informed by M. Gerard, one of the secretaries of the king's council of state, "that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to make a treaty with them. That no advantage would be taken of their situation, but the terms of the treaty should be such as the new formed states would be willing to agree to, if established in strength and power. That his most christian majesty was fixed in his determination, not only to acknowledge, but to support their independence. That in doing this, he might probably soon be engaged in a war; yet he should not expect any compensation from the United States, on that account, *nor was it pretended that he acted wholly for their sakes, since, besides his real good will to them, it was manifestly the interest of France, that the power of England should be diminished, by the separation of the colonies from its government.* The only condition he should require, and rely on, would be, that the United States, in no peace to be made, should give up their independence, and return to the obedience of the British government."†

CONFORMABLY to the preliminaries proposed 1778. by M. Gerard, his most christian majesty, Louis XVI. on the 6th of February, entered into treaties of amity and commerce with the United States of America, on the footing of the most

\* Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 64. † Ibid, p. 66.

1778. perfect equality and reciprocity. On the third of May, Mr. Simeon Deane arrived in America with dispatches from France, and the treaties were received by congress with inexpressible joy.

THE congress, after receiving the treaties, had a stronger feeling of their own importance than before, and resolved that "the commissioners appointed for the courts of Spain, Tuscany, Vienna and Berlin, should live in such style and manner at their respective courts, as they may find suitable and necessary to support the dignity of their public character."\*

AFTER the alliance between France and the United States was made known to the British ministry, Lord North introduced his conciliatory propositions, which were founded on the idea of obtaining a reunion of the new states with Great-Britain. The conciliatory bills were speedily followed by royal commissioners, deputed to solicit their reception. Governor Johnstone, Lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, appointed to this business, attempted to open a negotiation on the subject. Previously to the arrival of the British commissioners, and before they were informed of the treaty, which was concluded at France, congress had given a decided negative to the overtures contained in the conciliatory bills. There was therefore no ground left for further deliberation.

IN addition to his public exertions as commissioner, governor Johnstone opened a correspondence with certain members of congress, in order to

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 74.*



corrupt them. Private information was commu- 1778.  
 nicated to Joseph Reed, Esq. that it had been intended to offer him, in case of his exerting his abilities to promote a reunion of the two countries, ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the colonies in his majesty's gift. To which Mr. Reed replied, "I am not worth purchasing; but such as I am, the king of Great-Britain is not rich enough to do it."\*

AFTER the commissioners found all their attempts to negotiate with congress ineffectual, they endeavoured to persuade the inhabitants to adopt a line of conduct opposite to that of their representatives. Their proposals were not more favorably received by the people than they had been by congress. In no one place, not immediately commanded by the British army, was there any attempt to accept, or even to deliberate, on the propriety of closing with the offers of Britain.

NOTWITHSTANDING these pacific negotiations on the part of the British, the royal troops continued their devastations by fire and sword. In one of their excursions from Philadelphia, they proceeded to Bordentown, and there burnt a number of vessels and store-houses. Soon after, 500 British and Hessians, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Campbell, made an excursion from May 25.  
 Newport. This party destroyed a number of boats, burnt the meeting-house in Warren, the church in Bristol, and a number of buildings in each town.†

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 78.* † *Ibid, p. 81.*

1778. A FRENCH squadron, of twelve ships of the line and four frigates, commanded by Count D'Estaing, sailed from Toulon for America, in about two months after the treaty had been agreed upon between the United States and the king of France. After a passage of eighty-seven days, the count arrived at the entrance of the Delaware. From an apprehension of something of this kind, and from the prospect of greater security, it was resolved in Great-Britain immediately to evacuate Philadelphia, and to concentrate the royal force in the city and harbor of New-York.\*

JUN. 18. THE royal army passed over the Delaware, into New-Jersey. General Washington, having penetrated into their design of evacuating Philadelphia, had previously detached Gen. Maxwell's brigade, to co-operate with the Jersey militia, in obstructing their progress, till he could overtake them with his army. This detachment was afterwards strengthened by a body of 600 men, under col. Morgan.†

AFTER various movements on both sides, Sir Henry Clinton, with the royal army, arrived at a place called Freehold, where judging the Americans would attack him, he encamped in a very strong situation. When General Washington was informed that his army had begun their march, he sent orders to Gen. Lee (who having been lately exchanged, had joined the army) to move on and attack them, unless there should be very powerful

\* Gordon, Vol. II. p. 369. † Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 83.

reasons to the contrary; acquainting him, at the same time, that he was marching to support him. 1778.

WHEN General Washington had marched about five miles, to support the advanced corps, he found the whole of it retreating, by Lee's orders, and without having made any opposition of consequence. General Washington rode up to Lee, and proposed certain questions to him, which implied censure. Lee answered with warmth, and unsuitable language. Part of the retreating troops were then formed by the general with the utmost expedition. By their spirited conduct they checked the advance of the British army; and, at length, compelled them to retire behind the defile, where the first stand in the beginning of the action had been made.\*

GENERAL Washington intended to have renewed the engagement the next day; but the British troops marched away in the night, without the loss of either their covering party or baggage; and with such silence, that General Poor, who lay very near them, knew nothing of their movements, till it was too late to urge a pursuit.†

THE loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 250. Col. Bonner, of Pennsylvania, and major Dickenson, of Virginia, officers highly esteemed by their country, fell in this engagement. The loss of the royal army, inclusive of prisoners, was about 350.

IN this action, General Lee was charged by General Washington with disobedience and mis-

\* *Washington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 275.* † *Ramsay.*



1778. conduct, in retreating before the British army. He was tried by a court martial, and sentenced to be suspended from his command in the American army for twelve months. Previously to this battle, Lee's conduct at several times had been very suspicious; and it was suspected he had formed designs to supplant General Washington, and that his friends attempted to place him at the head of the army.\*

Jun. 30. THE British army pursued their march without any interruption to the neighborhood of Sandy-Hook, and on the 5th of July crossed the narrow channel to Sandy-Hook on a bridge of boats, and were afterwards safely conveyed to New-York.

SOON after the battle of Freehold, or Monmouth, as it is sometimes called, the American army took post at the White Plains, a few miles beyond King's Bridge; and the British, though only a few miles distant, did not molest them. They remained in this position from an early day in July, till a late one in autumn, and then the Americans retired to Middle Brook, in New-Jersey, where they remained in huts, as they had done at Valley Forge, the preceding winter.

IMMEDIATELY on the departure of the British from Philadelphia, congress, after an absence of nine months, returned to the former seat of their deliberations. Soon after their return, they were called upon to give a public audience to a minister plenipotentiary from the court of France. The person appointed to this office, was M. Ger-

\* *Lee's Memoirs*, p. 16—18. *Gordon*, Vol. II. p. 379.

ard, the same, who had been employed in the negotiations, antecedent to the treaty. Dr. Ramsay observes, that "the arrival and reception of a minister from France, made a strong impresson on the minds of the Americans. They felt the weight and importance, to which they were risen among nations. That the same spot, which, in less than a century, had been the residence of savages, should become the theatre, on which the representatives of a new, free and civilized nation, gave a public audience to a minister plenipotentiary from one of the oldest and most powerful kingdoms of Europe, afforded ample materials for philosophic contemplation. That in less than three years from the day, on which an answer was refused by Great-Britain, to the united supplications of the colonists, praying for peace, liberty and safety, they should, as an independent people, be honored with the residence of a minister from the court of France, exceeded the expectation of the most sanguine Americans. The patriots of the new world revolved in their minds these transactions, with heart-felt satisfaction; while the devout were led to admire that Providence, which had, in so short a space, stationed the United States among the powers of the earth, and clothed them in robes of sovereignty."\*

THE British had but barely completed the removal of their fleet and army from the Delaware and Philadelphia, to the harbor and city of New-York, when they received intelligence, that a

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 87.*

1778. French fleet, which was commanded by Count D'Estaing, was on the coast of America. Their first object was the surprize of Lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware; but they arrived too late. The capture of the British fleet was prevented, by the various hindrances which retarded D'Estaing on his voyage to the term of eighty-seven days, in the last eleven of which Lord Howe's fleet not only quitted the Delaware, but reached the harbor of New-York.\*

THE next attempt of Count D'Estaing was against Rhode-Island, of which the British had been in possession since December, 1776. A combined attack against it was projected, and it was agreed that General Sullivan should command the American land forces. Such was the eagerness of the people to co-operate with their new allies, and so confident were they of success, that some thousands of volunteers engaged in the service. The militia of Massachusetts were under the command of major-general John Hancock. The royal troops on the island, having been lately reinforced, were about 6000. General Sullivan having collected about 10,000 men, of whom one half at least were volunteers from New-England and Connecticut, passed over into the island on the 8th of August, at the same time the French fleet entered the harbor of Newport.†

LORD Howe received intelligence of the danger which threatened Rhode-Island, and hastened to its relief. On the appearance of Lord Howe, the

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 87.* † *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 383.*



French admiral put out to sea with his whole fleet, 1778. to attack him. The engagement was prevented by a violent tempest, by which both fleets were greatly damaged. The British suffered less in the storm than their adversaries, yet enough to render it necessary for them to return to New-York, for the purpose of refitting. The French fleet returned to Newport, in a very shattered condition, on the 20th of August; and two days after, count D'Estaing sailed for Boston, in order to refit his ships.\*

IN the mean time General Sullivan had commenced his military operations. But General Pigot, who commanded the British garrison, in Rhode-Island, had taken such measures, that without the assistance of a marine force, it was impossible to attack him with any probability of success. The conduct of D'Estaing, who had abandoned them when master of the harbor, highly irritated the people of New-England, and occasioned such numbers of the discontented militia to return home, that the regular army, which remained was in danger of being cut off from a retreat.

IN these embarrassing circumstances, General Sullivan retreated to the north end of the island; where his troops were soon discovered, and fired upon by the British. In the first instance, these light troops were compelled by superior numbers to give way, but they kept up a retreating fire. On being reinforced, they gave their pursuers a check, and at length repulsed them. By degrees the ac-

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 89.*

1778. tion became in some respects general, and near  
 1200 Americans were engaged. The loss on each  
 side was between 2 and 300.\*

LORD Howe's fleet, with Sir Henry Clinton, and about 4000 troops on board, being seen off the coast, General Sullivan concluded immediately to evacuate Rhode-Island. He retreated in excellent order, without leaving a man behind, or losing a single article.

Sep. 5. SIR Henry Clinton, finding that the Americans had left Rhode-Island, returned to New-York, but directed General Grey to proceed to Bedford, in Massachusetts, and the neighborhood, where several American privateers resorted. On the 5th of September, this party landed, and in a few hours destroyed seventy sail of shipping. They also burnt wharves, stores, vessels on the stocks, and a considerable number of dwelling-houses. The buildings burnt at this place, were estimated to be worth 20,000l. sterling.

ABOUT this time a disastrous event occurred. Colonel Baylor, with his regiment, was surprized and barbarously put to the bayonet on an advanced post, by major-general Grey, after they had sued for quarter.†

Nov. 27. THE campaign in the northern states having produced nothing advantageous to the British, and the winter being the proper season for southern expeditions, Sir Henry Clinton concluded upon turning his arms against Georgia. This expedition was committed to colonel Campbell, an officer of

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 92. Gordon, Vol. II. p. 406. † Ramsay.*

known courage and ability. He embarked at <sup>1778.</sup> New-York for Savannah, with a force of about 2000 men, escorted by a small squadron of ships of war, commanded by commodore Hyde Parker. Major-general Prevost, who commanded the royal forces in East-Florida, was directed to advance with them into the southern extremity of Georgia. The fleet, that sailed from New-York in about three weeks, effected a landing, near the mouth of the river Savannah. The continental army, to whom the defence of Georgia was entrusted, had lately returned from a fruitless summer's expedition against East-Florida, in which they suffered so great a diminution, that, joined with the state militia, then present, the whole amounted only to about 820 men. Gen. Howe, the American officer, who commanded the forces in Georgia, posted his army between the landing-place, and the town of Savannah, with the river on his left, and a morass in front. Whilst col. Campbell was making the necessary arrangements for dislodging the enemy, he received intelligence of a private path in the swamp, through which the British might pass unobserved, and attack the rear of the American army. As soon as a number of his troops had availed themselves of this advantage, the British in front of the continental army were directed to advance and engage. Gen. Howe, finding himself attacked in the rear, as well as in the front, ordered an immediate retreat. The British pursued with great rapidity, and gained a complete victory. Upwards of 100 of the Americans were killed. Thir-



1778. ty-eight officers, 415 privates, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort, with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all, in the space of a few hours, in the possession of the conquerors. The broken remains of the American army retreated up the river Savannah, and took refuge in South-Carolina.\*

ABOUT the period of the embarkation at New-York, General Prevost marched from East-Florida. After encountering many difficulties, the royal troops reached the inhabited parts of Georgia, and brought Sunbury under subjection. Lieut. col. Campbell behaved with such prudence and moderation, that he not only extirpated military opposition, but subverted, for a time, every trace of republican government in Georgia, and established the authority of Great-Britain in that state. On the arrival of General Prevost, he took the command of the combined forces from New-York and St. Augustine.†

THE errors of the first years of the war induced congress, at this period, to make some useful reforms, in that department. Between two and three hundred officers had resigned their commissions, on account of the insufficiency of the provision, which had been made for their support. From a conviction of the justice and policy of making commissions valuable, and from respect to the warm, but disinterested recommendations of General Washington, congress resolved, "That half pay should

\* Gordon, Vol. II. p. 418. † Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 98.

be allowed to their officers, for the term of seven 1778. years, after the expiration of their service." This was afterwards extended to the end of their lives. And, finally, that was commuted for full pay, for five years.

THIS year, a more regular discipline was introduced into the American army, by the industry, abilities and judicious regulations, of Baron de Steuben, a most excellent disciplinarian, who had served under the king of Prussia. A very important reform took place in the medical department, by appointing different officers to discharge the directing and purveying business of the military hospitals, which had been previously united in the same hands. Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, was principally instrumental in effecting this beneficial alteration.\*


\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 99. Gordon, Vol. II. p. 329.*



## CHAPTER XXXIII.

*General Lincoln appointed to command at the southward. The British make a descent with a land and sea force, into Virginia. Governor Tryon's destructive expedition into Connecticut. Brave action of General Putnam. General Wayne storms Stoney-Point. Major Lee takes the British post at Paulus Hook. The Americans unsuccessful in an attempt against a post in Penobscot. Their fleet destroyed. The king of Spain joins the confederacy against Britain. Of the campaign at the southward, in 1779. D'Estaing appears before Savannah. Besieges it in conjunction with General Lincoln. The allies are defeated, and retreat. Rhode-Island evacuated. Expedition against the Indians.*

**T**OWARDS the close of the former year, the South-Carolina delegates requested congress to appoint General Lincoln, on whose character they justly reposed great confidence, to the command of all the southern forces. Accordingly they made the appointment, and he repaired to Charleston.

1779.  THE British began their operations this year with expeditions tending rather to distress the Americans, than to benefit their own cause.\*

\* Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 100.



IN the month of May, Sir Henry Clinton sent a <sup>1779.</sup> naval and land force to make an inroad into Virginia, under the command of Sir George Collier and General Matthews. They sailed for Portsmouth, and on their arrival took possession of that defenceless town. The remains of Norfolk, on the opposite side of the river, fell of course into their hands. The Americans burned some of their own vessels, but others were made prizes by the invaders. The British guards marched eighteen miles in the night, and arriving at Suffolk by morning, burnt the houses in that town; and proceeded to the destruction of vessels, naval stores, and a large magazine of provisions, which had been there deposited. A similar destruction was carried on in other parts of the vicinity; nor were the frigates and armed vessels less active and successful in their service.\*

IN about five weeks after the termination of this expedition, a similar one was projected against the exposed margin of Connecticut. Governor Tryon was appointed to conduct the land forces, consisting of about 2600 men; and he was seconded by brigadier-general Garth. The transports, which conveyed these troops, were covered by a suitable number of armed vessels, commanded by Sir George Collier. They proceeded from New-York, and landed at New-Haven. The town, on their entering it, was delivered up to promiscuous plunder, a few instances of protection excepted. Whigs and tories, indiscriminately, though not universally, had their money, plate, rings and other articles taken from them; and much of

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 101. Gordon, Vol. II. 447.*

1779 their furniture, which could not be carried off, was wantonly destroyed. After perpetrating various species of enormity, the invaders suddenly re-embarked, and proceeded by water to Fairfield. The militia of that place and the vicinity posted themselves at the court-house green, and gave considerable annoyance to them, as they were advancing, but soon retreated to the height back of the town. Governor Tryon sent by a flag to col. Whitney, who commanded them, an address, in which he assured them, that their property lay within the power of the British, and threatened them with its destruction, unless they returned to their allegiance. Though the colonel was allowed an hour to consider and answer, he had scarcely time to read it, before the town was in flames. He nevertheless returned the following answer. "Connecticut having nobly dared to take up arms against the cruel despotism of Great-Britain, and the flames having preceded the answer to your flag, they will persist to oppose to the utmost the power exerted against injured innocence."\*

\* *Gordon. See a particular description of the burning of Fairfield, in President Dwight's elegant poem, filed Greenfield-Hill. After painting, in striking language, the cruelty of the British, he has the following beautiful lines.*

" Yet let not indignation rude  
 Commix the worthless with the good :  
 Sweet candor sings with voice benign,  
 And smiles to pen the generous line ;  
 Bright souls there were, who felt for woe,  
 And own'd the merit of a foe ;  
 Bright British souls, with virtue warm'd,  
 To reason, and to kindness charm'd,  
 Who sooth'd the wretch with tenderest care,  
 Their leaders spurn'd and curs'd the war ;  
 The sorrows wept of life's short span,  
 And felt the kindred ties of man."

THE British, in this excursion, also burnt East-Haven, the greatest part of Green's farms, and the flourishing town of Norwalk. A considerable number of ships, either finished or on the stocks, with whale-boats, and a large amount of stores and merchandize, were destroyed. In order to vindicate these devastations, the British alleged, that the houses which they had burnt gave shelter to the Americans, while they fired from them, and on other occasions concealed their retreat.\*

A SUDDEN period was put to these devastations. In about ten days after the landing of the British troops, an order was issued for their immediate return to New-York. This they effected in a short time, and with a loss so inconsiderable, that in the whole expedition, it did not exceed 150 men.†

ABOUT this time, Gen. Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable command at Reading, in Connecticut, when on a visit to his outpost, at Horse-Neck, was attacked by governor Tryon, with about 1500 men. Gen. Putnam had only a picket of 150 men, and two iron field pieces, without horses or drag-ropes. He however planted his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting-house, and by several discharges retarded the advancing British, and continued to make opposition, till he perceived the enemy's horse, supported by the infantry, were about to charge. Gen. Putnam, after ordering the picket to pro-

\* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 451.* † *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 106.*



1779. vide for their safety, by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, plunged down the precipice at the church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. The dragoons stopped short, without venturing down the abrupt declivity; and before they got round the brow of the hill, Putnam was far beyond their reach. Of the many balls that were fired at him, all missed except one, which went through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, and having strengthened his picket with some militia, faced about, and pursued governor Tryon on his return\*

THE campaign of this year was distinguished by the capture of Stoney-Point, on the North-river. This fort had been erected by the Americans, and was taken and strongly fortified by the British. Gen. Wayne was the commanding officer, who was entrusted with the execution of this plan; and the troops employed, on this occasion, were chiefly natives of New-England. All the Massachusetts light-infantry marched from West-Point, under lieut. colonel Hull, on the morning of the 15th of July, and joined General Wayne, at Sandy-Beach, fourteen miles from Stoney-Point. The roads were exceedingly bad and narrow, and the troops having to pass over high mountains, through difficult defiles and morasses, were obliged to move in single files the greatest part of the way. By eight in the evening, the van arrived

\* *Humphrey's Life of Putnam*, p. 181.

within a mile and a half of the enemy, where the 1779. men, being formed in two columns, remained till General Wayne, and several of the principal officers, returned from reconnoitring the works. At half past eleven at night, the whole moved forward to the attack. The general placed himself at the head of the right column, and gave the most pointed orders not to fire, but to depend solely on the bayonet, which order was faithfully obeyed. The two columns directed their attacks to opposite points of the works, whilst a detachment engaged the attention of the garrison, by a feint in the front. The approaches were more difficult, than had been apprehended; the works being covered by a deep morass, which at that time was overflowed by the tide.\*

“BUT neither the morass, the double rows of abbatis, nor the strength of the works, damped the ardor of the Americans. In the face of an incessant and tremendous fire of musketry and of cannon, loaded with grape-shot, they forced their way at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, till the van of each column met in the centre of the works, and the garrison were obliged to surrender at discretion.”

GENERAL Wayne was wounded in the head by a musket ball, as he passed the last abbatis, but nevertheless insisted on being carried forward, adding, as a reason for it, that if he died he wished it might be in the fort. The killed and wounded of the Americans amounted to 98. The killed of

\* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 452, 453.*

1779. the garrison were 63, and the number of the prisoners 543. Two flags, two standards, fifteen pieces of ordnance, and a considerable quantity of military stores fell into the hands of the conquerors.\*

July 19. THIS successful enterprize emboldened the Americans to make a similar attempt on Paulus Hook, a fortified post on the Jersey side, opposite to New-York. After having completely surprized the posts, the American commander, major Lee, finding it impossible to retain them, made an orderly retreat, with about 160 prisoners, among whom were seven officers.

ABOUT this period, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the state of Massachusetts against a post on the river Penobscot, on the borders of Nova-Scotia, of which the British had lately taken possession, and where they had begun to erect a fort, which threatened to be a great inconvenience to the Americans. In order to counteract the establishment of this post, a considerable fleet was fitted out with extraordinary expedition, and put under the conduct of commodore Saltonstall. The land forces were commanded by General Lovel. The Americans with great difficulty effected a landing, but, previously to their giving a general assault, they perceived Sir George Collier, with a British fleet, sailing up the river to attack them. As his force was vastly superior to theirs, to escape was impracticable. The whole American fleet was def.

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 108. See Gen. Wayne's Letter to Gen. Washington on this occasion.*



troyed. Their soldiers and sailors were obliged to return a great part of their way by land; and to wander through immense deserts. A great scarcity of provisions augmented their calamities.\*

IN the mean time the war, which originated in America, was extended to distant countries. Hostilities between the fleets of France and Great-Britain were carrying on frequently in both the Indies, and the European seas. The king of Spain was also, about this time, induced to accede to the confederacy against Great-Britain.

WHILST the progress of the war in the northern states was marked with devastation and distress, the affairs of the Americans at the southward wore a more alarming aspect.

THE British forces, as has been related in the preceding chapter, had effected the reduction of the greatest part of Georgia. The royal army at Savannah, being reinforced by the junction of the troops from St. Augustine, was in a condition to extend their posts. Major Gardner, with 200 men, being detached with this view, landed on Port-Royal island, in South-Carolina. General Moultrie, at the head of an equal number of Americans, chiefly militia, attacked and drove him off. After this repulse, the British endeavoured to strengthen themselves by reinforcements from the Tories in the western settlements of Georgia and Carolina. A number of loyalists, who assembled to join the British forces, were, with colonel Boyd, their leader, utterly routed and dispersed.†

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 111.* † *Ibid. p. 114.*

1779. IN the mean time General Lincoln, with a considerable body of troops, fixed encampments at Black-Swamp, and nearly opposite to Augusta, on the Carolina side. From these posts he formed a plan of crossing into Georgia, in order to limit the British to the low country, near the ocean. To assist this design, General Ash, with fifteen hundred North-Carolina militia, and a few regular troops,

May 3. took a position at Briar-Creek. In order to dislodge this party, lieut. col. Prevost made a circuitous march of about fifty miles, with 900 men. The Americans were totally defeated; 150 men were killed, and 160 taken. This event deprived Gen. Lincoln of one fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between the British, the Indians, and the tories of North and South-Carolina.\*

THE disasters, which followed the American arms, after the landing of the British in Georgia, stimulated the South-Carolinians to energetic exertions, to oppose the extension of their conquests. John Rutledge, a Carolinian of the most distinguished abilities, was unanimously chosen governor of the state, and, in conjunction with his council, invested with dictatorial powers. He assembled a large body of the militia near the centre of the state, that they might be in constant readiness to march whithersoever public service required. Part of the American force was stationed on the north side of the Savannah, at Purrysburg and Black Swamp, while General Lincoln, and the main army, crossed into Georgia, near Augusta.

\* *Gordon, Vol. II. p. 430.*

WHEN the American army was 150 miles up <sup>1779.</sup> the Savannah, Gen. Prevost, availing himself of that critical moment, crossed over to Carolina with 2400 regulars, and a considerable body of Indians. On his advance, General Moultrie, who was charged with the defence of South-Carolina, was compelled to retire. When General Lincoln found that Prevost was marching for Charleston, he recrossed the Savannah, and pursued him. The inhabitants of South-Carolina were assiduously engaged in their preparations to repel the British invaders; and a force of 3300 men was assembled in Charleston for the defence of that city.\*

THE main body and baggage of the British army <sup>May 11.</sup> being left on the south side of Ashley river, an advanced detachment, of 900 men, crossed the ferry, and appeared before the town. In the mean time Lincoln was marching with all possible expedition for the relief of Charleston. As his timely arrival was dubious, and the crisis extremely hazardous, a proposition was made by the garrison to Gen. Prevost, "that South-Carolina would remain in a state of neutrality during the war." The British commander rejected this advantageous offer; and the Americans made preparations for a vigorous defence. Prevost, having learnt, by an intercepted letter, that Lincoln was advancing in his rear, retreated from the main land to the islands on the sea coast. Both armies encamped in the vicinity of Charleston, watching each other's motions till the 20th of June, when an attack was

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 118.*



1779. made by about 1200 Americans, on 6 or 700 of the British, advantageously posted at Stono ferry. The action was continued for an hour and twenty minutes, and the assailants had the advantage; but the appearance of a reinforcement rendered their retreat necessary. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was about 150.

AFTER this attack, the British retreated from the islands adjacent to Charleston; and the main body went to Savannah.

ON the 1st of September, Count D'Estaing arrived with a fleet of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. As soon as the count's arrival on the coast was known, General Lincoln, with the army under his command, marched with the utmost expedition to Savannah; and orders were given for the South-Carolina and Georgia militia to rendezvous immediately near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence.\*

THE French and Americans, after having spent some time in making regular approaches, at last determined to take the place by storm. Accordingly, October 9th, two feints were made with the country militia, and a real attack on Spring-hill battery early in the morning, with 3500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the inhabitants of Charleston. These boldly marched up to the lines, under the command of D'Estaing and General Lincoln; but a heavy and well directed fire from the batteries, and a cross fire from the galleys,

\* *Gordon, Vol. II p. 446. Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 119.*

threw the front of their columns into confusion. 1779.  
 Two standards, however, were planted on the  
 British redoubt. A retreat of the assailants was or-  
 dered, after they had sustained the enemy's fire for  
 fifty-five minutes. Count D'Estaing and Count  
 Polaski were both wounded. The former slightly,  
 but the latter mortally. Six hundred and thirty-  
 seven of the French, and upwards of two hundred  
 of the continental soldiers and militia were killed  
 or wounded. After this unsuccessful assault, the  
 American militia almost universally returned to  
 their homes. Count D'Estaing re-embarked his  
 troops and artillery, and left the continent.\*

THE expedition of D'Estaing on the American  
 coast, though unsuccessful as to its principal ob-  
 ject, was eventually of benefit to the United States.  
 It disconcerted the measures already digested by  
 the British commanders, and procrastinated the  
 period of determining on a new plan of operation.  
 It also occasioned the evacuation of Rhode-Island;  
 though not to the advantage of America; for the  
 British had nearly 6000 men stationed two years  
 and eight months on that island, where they  
 could render little more service to the royal  
 cause, than could have been obtained by a couple  
 of frigates.†

THERE was for some time a cessation of impor-  
 tant military operations through the province of  
 New-York. Congress embraced an opportunity  
 to dispatch General Sullivan to take vengeance on  
 the Indians of the Six Nations for their ravages

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 122.* † *Ibid.*

1779. and devastations. Upon which, General Sullivan  
marched into the Indian country; burnt their  
villages, destroyed their provisions, and laid waste  
their fields and gardens. Not only the men and  
warriors, but the women and children, and whole  
settlements were involved in promiscuous defola-  
tion. The cruelties, which the Indians and Ame-  
ricans inflicted on each other, during the contest  
with Britain, open a scene deeply wounding to  
the feelings of humanity; and the brevity of this  
work forms an apology for drawing a veil over  
those horrid and destructive operations.\*

\* *Ramsay.*





## CHAPTER XXXIV.

*The British troops gain the possession of Charleston, in South-Carolina. Tarleton defeats Buford. The inhabitants of South-Carolina generally submit to the British government. General Sumpter's success. Battle of Camden. Tarleton defeats Sumpter. Patriotism of the ladies of South-Carolina. A party of loyalists dispersed by the Americans. Sumpter collects a body of volunteers, and performs several brave actions. Predatory excursions of the British. The academy of arts and sciences instituted in Massachusetts. Mutiny of two regiments of Connecticut troops. Arrangements in the army. Arrival of the French fleet. Treaty between Holland and the United States. General Arnold deserts the American cause; and agrees to deliver West-Point to the British. Unhappy fate of major Andre. Arnold is made brigadier-general in the British army; and endeavours to engage the continental troops to desert the American cause.*

**T**HE British army, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, commenced their operations early this year with an attempt against Charleston, in South-Carolina. The Americans, at this period, were greatly dispirited with their repulse at Savannah; and the number of troops under General Lincoln was far too few for the defence of the city. 1780.

1780. ON the 12th of April, the royal army opened their batteries against Charleston; and during eight days, a constant fire was kept up between both parties. General Lincoln exerted himself to the utmost in defending the town; but the British speedily completed its investiture, both by land and water; and brought the preparations to storm it in every part in great forwardness. Necessity at length impelled General Lincoln, who had been applied to for that purpose by the inhabitants, to surrender the town, on such articles of capitulation as had been previously agreed to, by General Clinton.\*

THE loss on either side, during the siege, was nearly equal. Of the king's troops, 76 were killed, and 189 wounded. Of the Americans, 89 were killed, and 140 wounded. The numbers, which surrendered prisoners of war, inclusive of the militia, and every adult male inhabitant, were about 5000; but the proper garrison, at the time of the surrender, did not exceed 2500. This was the first instance, in which the Americans had attempted to defend a town.†

AFTER the surrender of Charleston, the next object of the British was to secure the general submission of the inhabitants. To this end they posted garrisons in different parts of the country. They also marched with upwards of 2000 men towards North-Carolina. This caused an immediate retreat of some parties of Americans, who had advanced into the northern extremity of South-Carolina, with the expectation of relieving

\* *Gordon, Vol. III. p. 48—50.* † *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 156.*

Charleston. Among the corps, which had come forward with that view, there was one consisting of about 300 continental foldiers, commanded by col. Buford. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with 700 horfe and foot, completely defeated this party, who, difpirited by the lofs of Charleston, made but a feeble refiftance. It is faid, that Tarleton's forces refufed quarter to the Americans, after they had ceafed to refift, and laid down their arms.\*

SIR Henry Clinton having left about 4000 men for the fouthern fervice, embarked early in June, with the principal part of the army for New-York. On his departure, the command devolved on lieutenant-general Cornwallis. His lordfhip committed the care of the frontier to Lord Rawdon, and repairing to Charleston, devoted his principal attention to the commercial and civil regulation of South-Carolina. In the mean time, the impoffibility of removing their families and effects, and the want of an army to which the militia of the ftates might repair, induced the people in the country to abandon all fchemes of farther refiftance. At Beaufort, Camden and Ninety-fix, they generally laid down their arms, and fubmitted, either as prifoners or fubjects.†

THE first effort the Americans made in South-Carolina was two months after the fall of Charleston. July 12, col. Sumpter, a native of that ftate, at the head of a number of exiles, took the field againft the victorious British. With the fmall force of 133 men, he attacked and routed a

\* Gordon, Vol. III, p. 52. † Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 159.



1780. detachment of the royal forces and militia, which were posted in a lane at Williamfon's plantation. The troops from the north-western frontier of South-Carolina joined col. Sumpter with such alacrity, that in a few days the force under his command amounted to 600 men. With this increase of strength, he made a spirited attack on a party of British at Rocky-Mount; but having no artillery, was obliged to retreat. This active partizan attacked another royal detachment, consisting of the prince of Wales' regiment, and a large body of Tories, under colonel Bryan, posted at Hanging Rock. He reduced the above regiment, from 278 men, to nine. The remainder of loyalists in that quarter were dispersed; and the panic occasioned by the fall of Charleston daily abated.\*

AFTER General Lincoln was made prisoner at Charleston, General Gates was appointed to command in the southern department. On the approach of his army, Earl Cornwallis hastened from Charleston to Camden, where he attacked the American troops, in an unfavorable situation; and after a long and obstinate contest, gained a complete victory. The continental troops fought with undaunted courage; but the militia were soon dismayed, and left the former to oppose the whole force of the British army. Gen. Gates exerted himself to the utmost to rally the militia, but without effect. Two hundred and ninety American wounded prisoners were carried into

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 163. Gordon, Vol. III. p. 93.*

Camden, after the action, among whom was the <sup>1780.</sup> brave Baron de Kalb, who was mortally wounded. The numbers slain cannot be precisely ascertained; but it is supposed they amounted to about 700. More than 500 of the British were killed and wounded, according to their own account.\*

LIEUT. colonel Tarleton, who had greatly distinguished himself in this action, was detached the subsequent day, with a small body of cavalry and light-infantry, to attack a corps of Americans under Gen. Sumpter. He executed this service with such celerity and address, as to overtake and surprize this party at Fishing-Creek. Sumpter was totally defeated, and his whole detachment were either killed, captured or dispersed. <sup>Aug 17.</sup>

AFTER the battle at Camden, Gen. Gates retired first to Charlotte, from thence to Salisbury, and soon after to Hillsborough. A minute description of the retreat of the Americans from Charlotte to Salisbury, would be the image of complicated wretchedness.†

LORD Cornwallis remained at Camden. The loss he sustained in the battle, and the other disadvantages under which he labored, restrained him from pursuing his conquests. To compel the re-establishment of British government, he, in about four weeks after his victory, issued a proclamation for the sequestration of all estates belonging to the active friends of independence. Intimidated by the prospect of poverty and ruin, many became British subjects. However, several

\* *Gordon, Vol. III.* † *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 162.*

1780. of the richest men in the state suffered their fortunes to remain in the power and possession of the conquerors, rather than stain their honor, by joining the enemies of their country. The patriotism of the ladies contributed greatly to this firmness. They crowded on board prison-ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen. Large numbers of females, who were banished from their families, and whose property was seized by the conquerors, cheerfully parted with their sons, husbands and brothers, exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance, and repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the progress of the war, they were also comprehended under a general sentence of banishment, with equal resolution they parted with their native country, and their many endearing connexions; followed their husbands into prison-ships and distant lands, where they were reduced to the necessity of receiving charity.\*

WHILST Lord Cornwallis was restrained from active operations, major Ferguson undertook personally to visit the settlements of the disaffected to the American cause, and to train their young men for service in the field. Having collected a corps of militia, he encamped on the top of King's mountain, near the confines of North and South-  
 Oa. 7. Carolina. Here he was attacked by a party of American volunteers, and after a severe conflict, received a mortal wound. The contest was termin-

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 172, 173.*



ated by the submission of the survivors. Upwards <sup>1780.</sup> of 800 became prisoners, and 225 had been previously killed or wounded. The total rout of the party, which had joined major Ferguson, operated as a check on the future exertions of the loyalists.\*

THE defeat of major Ferguson, and the consequent retreat of Lord Cornwallis, encouraged the American militia to renew their exertions. Gen. Sumpter, after the dispersion of his force on the 18th of August, collected a corps of volunteers, and received such occasional reinforcements, as enabled him to keep the field, though there was no continental army in South-Carolina for three months. Having mounted his followers, he infested the British, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and so harrassed them with successive alarms, that their movements could not be made but with caution and difficulty. He was attacked at Broad-river by major Wemys, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action, the British were defeated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner. Soon after, he was attacked at Black Stocks, near Tyger-river, by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton; but the royal forces were obliged to retreat, with considerable loss.†

IN the mean time General Gates was exerting himself to the utmost to repair the injuries of his defeat, and was again in a condition to face the enemy, when he received official information, that

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 173. Gordon, Vol. III. p. 122.*

1780. General Greene was appointed to succeed him in the command of the southern department.

June 16. WHILST the war raged in South-Carolina, an incursion was made into Jersey, from New-York, with 5000 men, commanded by lieutenant-general Knyphausen. They landed at Elizabethtown, and proceeded to Connecticut farms. In this neighborhood, the Rev. Mr. Caldwell resided, a Presbyterian clergyman, who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the British, by his active zeal in the American cause. A foldier entered his house in his absence, and shot Mrs. Caldwell instantly dead. After this cruel action, the house, and every thing in it was reduced to ashes. The British burnt about twelve other houses, and also the Presbyterian church, and then proceeded to Springfield. As they advanced, the Americans marched in such numbers to oppose them, that they retreated to Elizabethtown. Whilst the royal detachment was in Jersey, Sir Henry Clinton had returned from Charleston to New-York, and having sent a reinforcement to Knyphausen, the whole advanced a second time to Springfield. They were now opposed by General Greene, with a considerable number of continental troops. Colonel Angel, with his regiment, and a piece of artillery, defended the bridge, which he was ordered to secure, with great gallantry. Superior numbers, however, at length, overcame obstinate bravery, and the Americans were obliged to retire. They lost about 80 men in this action; and the loss of the British was supposed to be much greater. They

closed this expedition with burning nearly fifty <sup>1780.</sup> dwelling-houses, in Springfield, and returned to New-York.\*

By such desultory operations, were hostilities conducted at this time in the northern states. Individuals were killed, houses were burnt, and much mischief done; but nothing was effected, which tended either to reconciliation or subjugation.†

It is remarkable, that amidst the anxieties and avocations attending the war, the Massachusetts general court passed an act (May 4) to incorporate and establish a society for the cultivation and promotion of the arts and sciences, by the name of *the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*. It is declared in the act, “that the end and design of the institution is, to promote and encourage the knowledge of the antiquities of America, and of the natural history of the country; and, in short, to promote the study of all the arts and sciences that may tend to advance a free, independent and virtuous people.”‡

THE distress which the Americans suffered from the diminished value of their currency, this year arrived to its highest pitch. The consequences of this depreciation were felt with peculiar severity by those, who were engaged in military services, and greatly augmented their other hardships. This cause, superadded to a complication of wants and sufferings, occasioned a disposition to mutiny to appear in the American army. Thirty-one of

\* Ramsay. † Ibid. ‡ Morse's Geography, Vol. II. p. 411.



1780. the soldiers, who were stationed at Fort-Schuyler, went off in a body. Being pursued, sixteen of them were overtaken, and thirteen of that number instantly killed. About the same time, two regiments of Connecticut troops mutinied, and got under arms. They determined to return home, or to gain subsistence at the point of the bayonet. Their officers reasoned with them, and urged every argument that could either interest their pride or their passions. After much expostulation, they were at length prevailed upon to go to their huts.\*

IN order to mitigate these distresses, congress endeavoured to give all possible satisfaction to their officers and soldiers. They appointed a committee for arranging their finances; and made some other regulations respecting the various public departments.†

THE committee of congress in the American camp, wrote sundry letters to the states, stimulating them to vigorous exertions. It was agreed to make arrangements for bringing into the field 35,000 effective men; to make up the deficiency in the enlistments by draughts from the militia, and to call on the states for specific supplies of every thing necessary for their support.

WHILST these preparations were making, the French armament was on its way to America. On the 10th of July M. de Ternay arrived at Newport, in Rhode-Island, with a fleet consisting of seven

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 185.* † *Ibid, p. 192.*

ships of the line, several frigates, and other vessels of inferior force; and a body of land forces, to the amount of about 6000 men, under the command of lieutenant-general Count de Rochambeau. General Heath was present to receive the troops upon their landing, and to give them the possession of the forts and batteries in the island, which by their exertions were soon put in a state of defence.\*

ON the 4th of September, the plan of a treaty of commerce, between the states of Holland and the United States, was signed by their respective agents. Mr. de Neufville, as agent from the city of Amsterdam, engaged that the regency of that city would never adopt any measure contrary to the interests of America, so long as the conduct of the Americans should be conformable to the interests of the states of Holland; but that they would use all their influence with the states of the seven United Provinces, to effect the desired connexion. The business was conducted, on the part of America, by John Adams, the present president of the United States.†

IN the month of September, a discovery of the utmost importance was made, which was a scheme for delivering West-Point into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. Gen. Arnold, who had the command of that post, possessed the most distinguished military talents, and had been prodigal of life in defence of his country. A taste for parade and


\* *Gordon, Vol. III. p. 64, 65.* † *Ibid, p. 94.*

1780. extravagant living had deeply involved him in debt, and his necessities induced him to desert the American cause. His love of pleasure produced the love of money, and that extinguished all sensibility to the obligations of honor and duty. Hence contracts were made, speculations entered into, and partnerships instituted, which could not bear investigation. Oppression, extortion, misapplication of public money and property, furnished him with the farther means of gratifying his favorite passions. In these circumstances, a change of sides afforded the only hope of evading a scrutiny, and at the same time, held out a prospect of replenishing his exhausted coffers. Influenced by these motives, he solicited the command of West-Point, which had been styled the Gibraltar of America, in order to betray that important fortress into the hands of the British.\*

THE agent employed in this negotiation on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, was major Andre, adjutant-general in the British army, who is described by Dr. Ramsay as "a young officer of great hopes, and of uncommon merit. Nature had bestowed on him an elegant taste for literature and the fine arts, which by industrious cultivation he had greatly improved. He possessed many amiable qualities, and great accomplishments. His fidelity, together with his place and character, eminently fitted him for this business; but his high ideas of candor, and his abhorrence of dupli-

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 95.*



city, made him inexpert in practising those arts of 1780. deception which it required."\* 

FOR the speedy completion of the negotiation, that was conducted between Sir Henry and General Arnold, the Vulture sloop of war was stationed in the North-river, at such a distance from the American posts, as without exciting suspicion, would serve for the necessary communications. A written correspondence, through other channels, had been maintained, since the year 1779, between Arnold and Andre at New-York, under the names of Gustavus and Anderson.†

ON the 21st of September, the necessary arrangements being made, a boat was sent at night from the shore to fetch major Andre, which brought him to the beach without the posts of either army, where he met Arnold. Their business was not finished, till it was too near the dawn of day for the major to return; and Arnold informed him he must be concealed till the next night. For that purpose he was conducted within one of the

\* *Miss Seward thus describes major Andre, in her beautiful Monody on his death.*

“How gaily shone on thy bright morn of youth  
The star of pleasure, and the sun of truth!  
Full from their source descended on thy mind  
Each generous virtue, and each taste refin'd.  
Young genius led thee to her varied fane,  
Bade thee ask all her gifts, nor ask in vain;  
Hence novel thought, in every lustre drest  
Of pointed wit, the diamond of the breast;  
Hence glow'd thy fancy with poetic ray,  
Hence music warbled in thy sprightly lay;  
And hence thy pencil with her colors warm  
Caught every grace, and copied every charm,  
Whose transient glories beam on beauty's cheek,  
And bid the glowing ivory breathe and speak.”

† *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 196, 197.*

1780. American posts, against his previous stipulation and knowledge, and continued with Arnold the following day. The boatmen refused to conduct him back the next night, as the *Vulture*, from being exposed to the fire of some cannon, brought up to annoy her, had changed her position. Andre was, therefore, obliged to return to New-York by land. To favor his escape, he quitted his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under his furtout, for a common coat. He was furnished with a horse, and under the name of John Anderson, received a passport from Arnold "to go to the lines of White Plains, or lower, if he thought proper, he being on public business."\*

MAJOR Andre pursued his journey alone, and proceeded undisturbed a great part of the way to New-York. When he imagined himself out of danger, he was stopt by three of the New-York militia, who were out on a scouting party, between the out posts of the two armies. One of these men sprung from his covert, and seized Andre's horse by the bridle. The major, instead of instantly producing his pass, asked the man where he belonged, who answered, "to below." Andre, suspecting no deceit, said, "so do I." Then declaring himself a British officer, he pressed that he might not be detained, being on urgent business. Upon the arrival of the other two soldiers, he discovered his mistake. His captors proceeded to search him, and found his papers. He offered them a purse of gold, and a valuable new watch, if they would

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 198.*

permit him to pass; and permanent provision, and future promotion, if they would convey and accompany him to New-York. They nobly disdained these proffered bribes, and declared, that “ten thousand guineas, or any other sum, would be no temptation to them.” They delivered him a prisoner to lieutenant-colonel Jameson, who commanded the scouting parties.\*

IN order to give Arnold time to escape, Andre requested colonel Jameson, that a line might be sent to acquaint him with the detention of Anderson. This was inconsiderately granted. Arnold, on the receipt of this letter, abandoned every thing, and hastened on board the Vulture sloop of war. Colonel Jameson forwarded to General Washington all the papers found on Andre; together with a letter, giving an account of the whole affair; but the express missed him, by taking a different route from the general, who was returning from a conference at Hartford, with Count de Rochambeau. This caused such a delay, as gave Arnold time to effect his escape. The packet was accompanied with a letter from the prisoner, which, says Dr. Ramsay, “was expressed in terms of dignity, without insolence, and of apology, without meanness. He avowed himself to be major Andre, adjutant-general in the British army; related the manner of his capture, and endeavoured to show that he did not come under the description of a spy. His principal request was, that “whatever his fate might be, a decency of treat-

\* Ramsay. See *Historical Journal of the American War.*



1780. ment might be observed, which would mark, that though unfortunate, he was branded with nothing that was dishonorable, and that he was involuntarily an impostor.”\*

ON the 29th of September, General Washington appointed a board of fourteen general officers, with the assistance of the judge advocate general, to examine major Andre's case, and to determine in what light it ought to be considered. Andre, disdaining all subterfuge and evasion, voluntarily confessed more than he was asked, and sought not to palliate any thing relating to himself, whilst he concealed, with the most guarded and scrupulous delicacy, whatever might involve others. The board did not examine a single witness; but founded their report merely upon his own candid confession. Hence, they declared it to be their opinion, “that major Andre ought to be considered as a spy, and that, agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death.”†

THE royal commanders made every exertion in favor of Andre. Several letters passed between the Generals Clinton and Washington, relative to this unhappy affair, and an interview took place between Generals Robertson and Greene, on this occasion; but all their efforts were ineffectual.‡

ANDRE, though superior to the terrors of death, wished to die like a soldier. To obtain this favor, he wrote a letter to General Washington, fraught with sentiments of military dignity. From an adherence to the usages of war, it was not thought

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 199.* † *Gordon, Vol. III. p. 132.* ‡ *Ibid.*

proper to grant this request ; but his delicacy was saved from the pain of receiving a negative answer. When led out to the place of execution, at Tappan, in the state of New-York, the way over which he passed was crowded on each side by anxious spectators. Their sensibility was strongly impressed, by beholding a well dressed youth, in the bloom of life, of a peculiarly engaging person, mien and aspect, devoted to immediate execution. Major Andre walked with firmness, composure and dignity ; and a smile of complacency expressed the serene fortitude of his mind. Upon seeing the preparations at the fatal spot, he asked, with some degree of concern, “ must I die in this manner ? ” He was informed it was unavoidable. He replied, “ I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode ; ” but soon subjoined, “ it will be but a momentary pang.” He ascended the cart with a pleasing countenance, and with a degree of composure, which excited the admiration, and melted the hearts of all the spectators. He was asked, when the fatal moment was at hand, if he had any thing to say ; he answered, nothing, but to request, “ that you will witness to the world, that I die like a brave man.” The succeeding moments closed the affecting scene.\*

A REVIEW of the unhappy fate of the accomplished Andre, must be deeply affecting to the feeling heart. Among the calamities of war, we behold the virtuous and brave destroying each other ; and the feelings of humanity yielding to the stern

\* *Gordon, Vol. III. p. 133, 134. Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 206.*

1780. dictates of military justice. In this affecting instance, we see the life of an amiable individual sacrificed to policy, and the usages of war. His blooming youth, accomplished manners, and the many beautiful traits in his character, excite esteem, admiration, the tenderest compassion, and deepest regret. Such emotions were doubtless felt, in the strongest manner, by the brave officers, who passed the decisive sentence, that put a period to his valuable life.

THE traitor Arnold was made a brigadier-general in the British army. He published an address to the inhabitants of America, dated from New-York, October 7, in which he endeavoured to justify his desertion of their cause. This address was soon followed by another, inscribed to the officers and soldiers in the continental army, in which he used a variety of insinuating arguments, and offered them large pay and promotion, to allure them to follow his example. But all his endeavours were abortive, and desertion wholly ceased at this remarkable period of the war.\*

\* *Ram'ay, Vol. II. p. 205.*





## CHAPTER XXXV.

*Revolt of the Pennsylvania line. Of a number of Jersey troops. Expedition against Morristania. Virginia invaded by Arnold: Engagement between the British and French fleets. Generals Phillips and Arnold ravage Virginia. General Morgan defeats lieut. col. Tarleton, in a battle at the Cowpens. Lord Cornwallis pursues General Morgan. Battle at Guildford court-house. Gen. Greene returns to South-Carolina. He is defeated by Lord Rawdon, at Camden. He takes a number of British posts. Ninety-Six besieged; but relieved by Lord Rawdon. General Greene retreats. His heroic resolution. Battle at Eutaw-Springs. The British driven down to Charleston.*

**T**HOUGH General Arnold's address 1781. to his countrymen produced no effect in detaching the American soldiers from the unproductive service of congress, their steadiness could not be accounted for from any melioration of their circumstances. They still remained without pay, and destitute of such clothing as the season required. These complicated distresses excited a mutiny in the army, which made its first threatening appearance in the Pennsylvania line. On the 1st of January, 1300 of these troops turned out, and peremptorily refused to serve any longer, unless they

1781. could obtain redress of grievances. At the same time, they repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, denied being influenced by the least disaffection to the American cause; or having any intention of deserting to the enemy. They rejected all the flattering proposals which were made to them, at this period, by the British, with disdain. They even delivered two of Sir Henry Clinton's messengers to General Wayne. They were tried by a board of officers, condemned for spies, and instantly executed.\*

IN order to accommodate matters with the revolted, commissioners were appointed to hear their complaints, and redress their grievances. Upon which they cheerfully returned to their duty in the continental army. They nobly refused a purse of an hundred guineas, which was offered them as a reward for their fidelity, in delivering the spies.

ON occasion of this revolt, the commander in chief stated, in a circular letter to the four eastern states, the well founded complaints of his army; and the impossibility of keeping them together, under the pressure of such a variety of sufferings. General Knox was requested to be the bearer of these dispatches; and to urge the states to an immediate exertion for the relief of the soldiers. He visited New-England, and with great earnestness described their wants and distress. His energetic efforts induced the states to make advances for their relief.†

\* Gordon, Vol. IV. p. 21. † Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 221.

THE success of the Pennsylvania' revolters encouraged about 160 of the Jersey brigade, soon after, to seek redress in a similar method. They did not, however, conduct with equal spirit and prudence; but committed several acts of outrage against particular officers, while they affected to be submissive to others. Three of the most notorious of the leaders, were, by a court-martial, unanimously sentenced to death, and accordingly executed. The others made public concessions to their officers, and promised, by future good conduct, to atone for past offences.\*

THESE unfortunate events, however, did not damp the enterprising spirit of the American army. An expedition was formed, under the direction of General Parsons; the executive part of which was confided to the military address of lieut. col. Hull, against a post of the enemy, called Morrissania. The army, after contending with a severe storm of hail and snow, while on a march of more than thirty miles, surprized them in their huts, on the 22d of January, and captured 100 persons, with some horses and cattle; and after destroying the barracks and forage, effected a retreat in good order. For this well conducted service, General Parsons, for his arrangement, and colonel Hull, for his intrepidity, received the thanks of congress, and of the commander in chief.†

\* Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 221.

† The compiler of the History of New England has taken the account of the expedition against Morrissania from papers, with which she was favored by General Hull, of Newton.



1781. THE British appear to have planned the campaign of 1781 in such a manner, as to attack the Americans in a variety of places at once. Accordingly, in that year, the war raged not only in the vicinity of New-York, but in Georgia, South and North-Carolina, and in Virginia.

THIS year General Arnold made a predatory incursion into Virginia. His force consisted of about 1600 men, and was supported by such a number of armed vessels, as enabled him to commit extensive ravages in the country. The invaders first destroyed large quantities of stores in Richmond, and soon after committed similar devastations in several other places.\*

THE destructive ravages, which were made by General Arnold, and the apprehension of a design to fix a permanent post in Virginia, induced General Washington to detach 1200 men, under the conduct of the Marquis de la Fayette, to the relief of that state. He was also to urge the French in Rhode-Island to co-operate with him in attempting to capture Arnold and his party. The French commanders supposed an opportunity offered of rendering essential service to their allies, and accepted the proposal with avidity. A partial engagement took place, between their fleet and that of the British. The contest was nearly balanced, and ended without the loss of a ship on either side. The British, however, obtained the fruits of victory so far as to oblige their adversaries to return to

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 226.*

Rhode-Island, without effecting the purposes of 1781.  
the expedition.\*

A FEW days after this engagement, a convoy ar-<sup>Mar. 25.</sup>  
rived from New-York, having on board about 2000  
chosen troops, under General Phillips, who was  
appointed to the command in Virginia. He soon  
effected a junction with Arnold, and they successively  
defeated those bodies of militia, which remained  
to defend the country. In their destructive expedi-  
tions, they spread terror and desolation; and  
destroyed property to an immense amount.†

WHILST the royal forces were plundering Vir-  
ginia, the war raged in the two Carolinas. The  
success of the British, in reducing Charleston, en-  
couraged them to project an invasion of North-  
Carolina. Hence Lord Cornwallis began to make  
vigorous exertions, in order to penetrate into that  
state. His progress was retarded by an attempt  
made by the Americans, under General Morgan,  
to gain possession of the valuable district of Nine-  
ty-Six. In order to counteract this design, Lord  
Cornwallis detached lieutenant-colonel Tarleton,  
with about 1100 men. His force was much su-  
perior to the Americans, and two thirds of the  
latter were militia. With these fair prospects  
of success, Tarleton attacked Morgan at the Cow-<sup>Jan. 17.</sup>  
pens, a place near Pacolet river. The Americans,  
after an obstinate contest, gained a complete victo-  
ry. Upwards of 300 of the British were killed or  
wounded, and about 500 prisoners were taken.

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 227.* † *Gordon, Vol. IV. p. 62.*

1781. The Americans had only twelve men killed, and sixty wounded.\*

THIS brilliant success entirely disconcerted the plan of Lord Cornwallis. He hoped, however, by vigorous exertions, to recover what he had lost. With the expectation of retaking the prisoners captured at the Cowpens, and to make reparation for the late defeat in that place, his lordship instantly determined on the pursuit of General Morgan, who had moved off towards Virginia, with his prisoners. The movements of the royal troops, in consequence of this determination, induced General Greene to leave the main army under the command of Gen. Huger, that he might join Morgan's detachment, and direct the motions of both divisions of his army.

THE British urged the pursuit with so much rapidity, that they reached the ford of the Catabaw on the evening of the same day on which their fleeing adversaries had crossed it. Before the next morning, a heavy fall of rain rendered this river impassable. Had it risen a few hours earlier, the Americans would have had no chance of escape, and their prisoners would have been retaken by the enemy. The arrival of General Greene at this time, who directed the retreat in the most judicious manner, was equally providential.†

AFTER the British had effected the passage of the Catabaw, they continued their pursuit. The Americans soon after crossed the Yadkin, and se-

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 234.* † *Ibid. Sketch of General Greene's Life.*



cured the boats on the north side. The want of 1781. boats, and the rapid rising of the river, again prevented Lord Cornwallis from reaching them. These repeated providential escapes were considered by the Americans as evidences, that their cause was favored by heaven.\*

LORD Cornwallis had disengaged his army of part of their baggage, in order to accelerate his pursuit. The Americans, however, by a rapidity of movements, and the interference of Providence, eluded his efforts, and by the most indefatigable exertions, General Greene transported his army, artillery and baggage, over the river Dan, into Virginia.

IN this state, he received some reinforcements; upon which he returned to North-Carolina, and encamped in the vicinity of Lord Cornwallis' army. By a variety of the best concerted manœuvres, and by the secrecy and promptitude of his motions, he so judiciously supported the arrangement of his troops, that during three weeks, whilst the enemy remained near him, he prevented their taking any advantage of their superiority, and cut off all opportunity of their receiving succors from the royalists.†

AT length, General Greene effected a junction with a continental regiment, and two considerable bodies of Virginia and Carolina militia. He, therefore, determined no longer to avoid an engagement.

THE American army consisted of about 4400<sup>Mar. 15.</sup> men, of whom nearly two thirds were militia. The

\* *Gordon, Vol. IV. p. 39, 40.* † *Ibid.*

1781. British were about 2400, of chosen troops, grown veteran in victories. Lord Cornwallis, being apprized of General Greene's intentions, marched out to meet him; and an action commenced near Guildford court-house. After an obstinate contest, which continued an hour and an half, the discipline of veteran troops gained the victory. The battle was terminated by General Greene's ordering a retreat, when he perceived, that the enemy were on the point of encircling his troops.\*

THE victory gained by the British was dearly bought. Their losses, in killed, wounded and missing, were estimated at 532, among whom were several officers of distinction. The loss of the Americans amounted to about 400 killed and wounded. Lord Cornwallis found himself unable to pursue the advantage, which his recent success seemed to promise.†

SOON after this engagement, General Greene returned to South-Carolina, and advanced to Camden. This place was covered on the south and east sides by a river and a creek; and to the westward and northward by six redoubts. It was defended by Lord Rawdon, with 900 men. The American army, consisting of about an equal number of continentals, and between two and three hundred militia, was unequal to the task of carrying this post by storm, or of completely investing it. General Greene therefore took a good position, about a mile distant, in expectation of alluring the garrison out

\* Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 241, 242. Greene's Life, p. 33.

† Gordon, Vol. IV. p. 83, 84. Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 246.

of their lines. Lord Rawdon, with great spirit, 1781, sallied out, and attacked General Greene in his <sup>Apr. 25.</sup> camp. The defence was obstinate; and for some part of the engagement, victory evidently inclined to the Americans; but, in the progress of the action, the premature retreat of two companies eventually occasioned the defeat of their whole army. Their loss, in killed, wounded and missing, was between two and three hundred. Lord Rawdon lost 258. After this action, the Americans encamped about five miles from their former position; and the British retired to Camden. Lord Rawdon, however, was soon after obliged to evacuate this post.

GEN. Greene continued to make the most vigorous exertions, in order to recover South-Carolina from the power of the British. His efforts were, in various instances, crowned with success. The numerous forts, garrisoned by the enemy, fell, one after the other, into the hands of the Americans. Orangeburg, Motte, Watson, Georgetown, and Granby, were surrendered; and they contained a very considerable number of prisoners of war, with military stores and artillery.\*

WHILST operations were carrying on against the small posts, Gen. Greene proceeded, with his main army, and laid siege to Ninety-Six, in which <sup>May 25.</sup> lieut. col. Cruger, with 500 men, were advantageously posted. The siege was conducted for a considerable time with great spirit; and the place

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 247—249.*



1781. was defended with equal bravery. When, at length, the works were so much reduced, that farther resistance would have been temerity, Lord Rawdon received from Europe a reinforcement of three regiments, which enabled him to relieve this important post. In these circumstances, Gen. Greene was reduced to the alternative of abandoning the siege, or proceeding to an assault. The latter, being more agreeable to his enterprising spirit, was attempted; and, though the assailants displayed great resolution, they were repulsed, with the loss of 150 men; upon which he raised the siege, and retreated over the Saluda.

THIS event involved the American army in great distress. Their expectations were blasted, when in the grasp of victory; and they were obliged to seek a retreat in the extremity of the country, when nearly masters of the whole. In this gloomy situation, Gen. Greene was advised to retire with his remaining force to Virginia. To suggestions of this kind he nobly replied, "I will recover South-Carolina, or die in the attempt."\*

SOME unimportant skirmishes took place, between detached parties of both armies, in July and August. On the 9th of September, Gen. Greene having assembled about 2000 men, proceeded to attack the British, who, under the command of col. Stewart, were posted at Eutaw-Springs. A most obstinate battle ensued in this place, and continued from nine in the morning till one in

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 250.*

the afternoon. The American forces were drawn <sup>1781.</sup> up in two lines. The first was composed of militia, the second of continental troops. As they advanced, they fell in with two parties of the British, three or four miles ahead of their main army. These being briskly attacked, soon retired. The militia continued to pursue and fire, till the action became general, and they were obliged to give way. In the hottest part of the engagement, Gen. Greene ordered the Maryland and Virginia continentals to charge with trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed on in good order through a heavy cannonade, and a shower of musketry, with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them. Lieut. colonel Campbell, while bravely leading his men on to that successful charge, received a mortal wound. After he had fallen, he enquired who gave way, and being informed that the British were fleeing in all quarters, replied, "I die contented," and immediately expired. The British were vigorously pursued, and upwards of 500 of them were taken prisoners. They, however, made a fresh stand, in a favorable position, in a strong brick house, and picketed garden. Lieut. col. Washington, after having made every effort to dislodge them, was wounded and taken prisoner. Four six-pounders were ordered up before the house, from under cover of which the British were firing. The Americans were com-

1781. <sup>w</sup>pelled to leave these pieces and retire ; but they left a strong picket on the field of battle, and only retreated to the nearest water in their rear. In the evening of the next day, lieut. col. Stewart, who commanded on this occasion, left 70 of his wounded men, and a thousand stand of arms, and moved from the Eutaws, towards Charleston. The loss of the British, inclusive of prisoners, was upwards of 1100 ; that of the Americans about 500, in which number were 60 officers.\*

Soon after this engagement, the Americans retired to their former position, on the high hills of Santee, and the British took post in the vicinity of Monk's corner. In the end of the year, General Greene moved down to the lower country, and about the same time, the royal army abandoned their out posts, and retired to the quarter-house, on Charleston-neck.

THE battle at Eutaw, may be considered as closing the national war in South-Carolina. The exertions which the enemy afterwards made, produced no other effect than the loss of property and individual lives. The crops, which the British had planted in the spring, were reaped by the Americans. "History," says Dr. Ramsay, "affords but few instances of commanders, who have achieved so much with equal means, as was done by General Greene, in the short space of a twelvemonth. He opened the campaign with gloomy prospects, but closed it with glory. His unpaid and half naked

\* Gordon, Vol. IV. p. 168—171. Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 252. Greene's Life, p. 100.



army, had to contend with veteran soldiers, supplied 1781. with every thing that the wealth of Britain, or plunder of Carolina could procure. Under all these disadvantages, he compelled superior numbers to retire from the extremity of the state, and confine themselves in the capital and its vicinity. Had not his mind been of the firmest texture, he would have been discouraged; but his enemies found him as formidable on the evening of a defeat, as on the morning of a victory."\*

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 254.*

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## CHAPTER XXXVI.

*Lord Cornwallis joins the royal forces in Virginia. The Marquis de la Fayette's able movements. General Wayne attacks the British army. Lord Cornwallis fortifies Yorktown and Gloucester. Plan for his capture. Arrival of Count de Grasse with his fleet. Admiral Graves engages the French fleet off Chesapeake. Arnold's expedition into Connecticut. Lord Cornwallis closely besieged in Yorktown. He surrenders. Joy of the Americans on that occasion.*

**L**ORD Cornwallis, soon after the battle at Guildford court-house, marched to Wilmington, in North-Carolina. Previously to his departure from that place, he received information, that General Greene had begun his march for Camden. Though his lordship was apprehensive of danger from that quarter, yet, preferring the extensive scale of operations which Virginia presented, to the narrow one of preserving past conquests, he determined to leave South-Carolina to be defended by Lord Rawdon. Before the end of April, he, therefore, proceeded to Virginia. By the combination of the royal force previously employed in this state, with the troops which had marched from Wilmington, Lord Cornwallis was at the head of a very powerful army; and soon after his arrival,

he was reinforced by 1500 men from New-York. 1781. About the same time he received information, that three British regiments had sailed from Cork to Charleston. These events, together with Lord Rawdon's report of the advantage he had gained over General Greene, dissipated all his anxiety for South-Carolina, and inspired him with the most sanguine expectations of a glorious campaign.\*

THE defensive forces, which were opposed to the formidable British army, were principally entrusted to the Marquis de la Fayette. Early in the year, as has been already related, he had been detached from the main American army on an expedition, the object of which was a co-operation with the French fleet in capturing General Arnold. On the failure of this, the marquis marched back as far as the head of Elk. There he received an order to return to Virginia to oppose the British forces, which had become more formidable, by the arrival of a considerable reinforcement, under Gen. Phillips. He proceeded, without delay, to Richmond, and arrived there the day before the British reached Manchester, on the opposite side of James river. His presence, with a body of troops, secured Richmond from the hostile attacks of the British, and saved the military stores with which it was then filled. The superiority of the royal forces was so great, that he had before him an arduous task, and was pressed with various embarrassments. In this situation he began to retire with

\* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 255, 256.*



1781. his little army, which consisted of about 1000  
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 regulars, 200 militia, and 60 dragoons.*

LORD Cornwallis advanced from Petersburg to James river, which he crossed at Westown, and thence marching through Hanover county, crossed the South Anna, or Pamunkey river. The marquis followed his motions, but at a guarded distance. The superiority of the British army enabled them to traverse the country in all directions. In the course of their marches, and countermarches, immense quantities of property were destroyed, many unimportant skirmishes took place, and many partial conquests were made, without any permanent effect. Lord Cornwallis despised the youth of his opponent, and unguardedly wrote to Great-Britain, "*The boy cannot escape me.*" The young marquis, however, acted with so much caution, made so judicious a choice of posts, and exhibited so much vigor and design in his movements, as to prevent any advantage being taken of his weakness. He effected a junction at Racoon Ford with General Wayne, who was at the head of 800 Pennsylvanians. Whilst this junction was forming, the British got between the American army and its stores, which had been removed from Richmond to Abemarle old court-house. The marquis had the address to extricate himself from this difficulty. By forced marches he arrived within a few miles of the enemy, when they were two days march from Abemarle court-house, and opened in the night a nearer road, which had been long disused,

* Gordon, Vol. IV. p. 110. Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 257.

and was much embarrassed. To the surprize of 1781, Lord Cornwallis, the marquis fixed himself the next ^{Jan. 18.} day in a strong position, between the British army and the American stores.*

THIS judicious movement deranged the plans of the British general, and induced him to commence a retrograde movement to Richmond. About this time, the marquis' army was reinforced by Steuben's troops, and by militia, from the parts adjacent. He followed Lord Cornwallis, and had the address to impress him with an idea, that the American army was much greater than it really was. His lordship, therefore, retreated to Williamsburg. The day after the main body of the British army arrived, their rear was attacked by an American light corps, under col. Butler, and sustained a considerable loss.†

ABOUT the time Lord Cornwallis reached Williamsburg, he received intelligence from New-York, exhibiting the danger, to which that city was exposed, from a combined attack, that was said to be threatened by the allies. Sir Henry Clinton, therefore, required his lordship to send him a detachment, if he was not engaged in any important enterprize; and recommended to him a healthy station, with an ample defensive post, till New-York should be out of danger. Lord Cornwallis, in order to comply with this requisition, determined to retire to Portsmouth, judging that he could more easily maintain that post, with a diminished force, than his present position. For

* Gordon, Vol. IV. p. 111—116. † Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 238.

1781. the execution of this plan, he was obliged to cross James river. The Marquis de la Fayette, supposing this to be a favorable opportunity for acting offensively, advanced on the British. General Wayne, being informed, that the main body of the royal forces had crossed the river, pushed forward with 800 men, to harass their rear. Contrary to his expectations, he found the whole British army ready to oppose him. With great presence of mind, he extricated himself from his perilous situation, by boldly attacking and engaging them with spirit; and then retreating with the utmost expedition. Lord Cornwallis, suspecting the whole was a scheme to draw him into an ambuscade, did not pursue. The British passed the river at night, and retired to Portsmouth without molestation.*

July 6.

LORD Cornwallis had previously taken the necessary steps for forwarding part of his army to New-York. But before they sailed, an express arrived from Sir Henry Clinton, with a letter, allowing him to detain the whole of the forces under his command, expressing his preference of Williamsburg to Portsmouth, for the residence of the army, and his desire that Old Point Comfort, or Hampton Road, should be secured as a station for line of battle ships. It being a principal object of the campaign to fix on a strong permanent post or place of arms in the Chesapeake, for security of both the army and navy, and the places above mentioned having been found unfit for this purpose, York-

* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 259. Lendrum, Vol. II. p. 370.*

town and Gloucester-Point were considered as most likely to accord to the views of the royal commanders. Lord Cornwallis therefore evacuated Portsmouth, and assiduously applied himself to fortify those posts, and render them equally respectable by land and water. His whole force amounted to about 7000 excellent troops.

WHILST his lordship was thus exerting himself to render his post impregnable; the combined army of French and Americans were equally active in their attempts to repel their enemies, and hoped, by vigorous exertions, to put a period to the war.

THE plan of the whole campaign had been fixed at Weathersfield, in an interview between Generals Washington, Knox and du Portal, on the part of the Americans, and the Count de Rochambeau and the chevalier Chasteleux, on the part of the French. This was to lay siege to New-York, in concert with a French fleet, which was to arrive on the coast in the month of August. It was agreed that the French troops should march towards the North-river. Letters were addressed to the executive officers of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New-Jersey, requiring, among other things, militia to the amount of 6200. The French troops marched from Rhode-Island in June, and early in the following month joined the American army. About the time this junction was effected, General Washington marched his army from their winter encampment near Peek's kill, to the vicinity of King's Bridge. He was, however,

1781. after these introductory movements, deterred from executing his plan by the insufficiency of his forces.*

DR. Ramsay observes, that, “the tardiness of the states, which at other times had brought them near the brink of ruin, was at present the accidental cause of real service. Had they sent forward their recruits for the regular army, and their quotas of militia, as was expected, the siege of New-York would have commenced in the latter end of July, or early in August. Whilst the season was wasting away in expectation of these reinforcements, Lord Cornwallis, as has been related, fixed himself near the capes of Virginia. His situation, there, the arrival of a reinforcement of 3000 Germans from Europe at New-York, the superior strength of the garrison, the failure of the states in filling up their battalions, and embodying their militia, and especially the recent intelligence from Count de Grasse, that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeak, concurred, about the middle of August, to make a total change of the plan of the campaign.”

THE American commander still kept up the appearance of an intention to attack New-York, in order to amuse and deceive the British general. Whilst this deception was played off, the allied army crossed the North-river, and passed on, by the way of Philadelphia, to Yorktown.†

WHILST the attack of New-York was in serious contemplation, a letter from General Washington,

* Gordon, Vol. IV. p. 120, 121. † Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 265.

detailing the particulars of the intended operations of the campaign, fell into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. Under the strong impression of this intelligence, the British commander believed every movement towards Virginia to be a feint, calculated to draw his attention from the defence of New-York: Hence he bent his whole force to strengthen that post, and suffered the French and American armies to pass him without any molestation.*

WHEN General Washington had reached Chester, he received the joyful intelligence, that Count de Grasse had arrived in the Chesapeak, with twenty-eight sail of the line, from the West-Indies. The count, on his passage, fell in with and took a packet from Charleston, having Lord Rawdon on board, who was on his return to Great-Britain.

COUNT de Grasse, with the utmost expedition, blocked up York-river, with three large ships and some frigates, and moored the principal part of his fleet in Lynhaven-bay. In order to relieve Lord Cornwallis, Admiral Greaves, with a British fleet, appeared off the capes of Virginia. The French admiral, with his superior fleet, went out to meet him, and an indecisive engagement took place. In the beginning of September, Count de Grasse's fleet was joined by eight sail of men of war, from Rhode-Island, under M. Barras. After the French fleet had obtained such a superiority, Admiral

* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 266. Gordon, Vol. IV. p. 182.*

1781. Greaves soon took his departure, and M. de Grasse re-entered the Chesapeake.

GENERAL Washington and Count Rochambeau reached Williamsburg on the 14th of September. They, with Generals Chasteleux, du Portal and Knox, proceeded to visit Count de Grasse on board his ship, the *Ville de Paris*, and agreed on a plan of operations.*

Sep. 6. WHILEST the combined armies were advancing to the siege of Yorktown, Sir Henry Clinton dispatched General Arnold, with a sufficient land and marine force, to Connecticut, in order to ravage New-London, and lay waste his native country. Upon the arrival of the British troops in that place, Fort-Grifwold, on Groton hill, was furiously attacked by lieutenant-col. Eyre, who commanded one of the detachments employed in the expedition. The garrison defended themselves with great resolution, but, after a severe conflict of forty minutes, the fort was carried by the assailants. Upon which a severe execution took place, though resistance had ceased on the part of the Americans. The brave col. Ledyard, who commanded the fort, was slain with his own sword, after he had surrendered. Sixty dwelling-houses, in New-London, and eighty-four stores, were reduced to ashes. The loss which the Americans sustained, by the destruction of naval stores, of provisions and merchandize, was immense. Gen. Arnold, having completed the object of the expedition, returned in eight days to New-York.†

* *Ramsay, Vol. II, p. 267.* † *Ibid, p. 275.*

THE combined forces proceeded on their way ^{1781,} to Yorktown, partly by land, and partly down the Chesapeak. The whole, together with a body of Virginia militia, under the command of General Nelson, amounting in the aggregate to 12,000 men, rendezvoused at Williamsburg, on the 25th of September, and in five days more moved down to the investiture of Yorktown. The French fleet, at the same time, moved to the mouth of York-river, and took a position, which was calculated to prevent Lord Cornwallis, either from retreating, or receiving succor by water.*

IN the mean time, the royal army were exerting themselves to the utmost to strengthen their works, and their artillery was constantly employed in impeding the operations of the combined army. On the 9th and 10th of October, the French and Americans opened their batteries, and a tremendous roar of cannon and mortars was continued for six or eight hours, without ceasing.

ON the 11th, the besiegers commenced the second parrallel, two hundred yards from the works of the besieged. Two redoubts, which were advanced on the left of the British, greatly retarded the progress of the combined army; it was, therefore, determined to attack both at the same hour. To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of the one was committed to the French, of the other to the Americans. Both detachments having passed the abbatis and palisades with unloaded muskets, carried them in a few minutes. The

* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 268.*

1781. Americans had only 8 men killed, and 28 wounded; but the French lost a considerable number of men.*

THE allied army continued to carry on the siege with great success. By this time the batteries of the besiegers were covered with nearly an hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, and the works of the besieged were so destroyed, that they could scarcely shew a single gun. Lord Cornwallis was now driven to the disagreeable alternative, either to surrender, or attempt an escape. He determined on the latter. Boats were prepared, under different pretences, to receive the troops in the night, and transport them to Gloucester-Point. After one embarkation had arrived at the place of their destination, and the greater part of the troops were landed, the weather, which was before moderate and calm, instantly changed to a most violent storm of wind and rain. The boats, with the remaining troops, were all driven down the river, and the design of passing over was not only entirely frustrated, but the absence of the boats rendered it impossible to bring the troops from Gloucester. Thus weakened and divided, the army was exposed to great danger. However, the boats returned, and the troops were brought back in the course of the forenoon, with very little loss.†

THE failure of this scheme involved the British army in extreme distress. Their works were sinking under the weight of the French and Amer-

* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 269, 270.* † *Gordon, Vol. IV. p. 194.*

ican artillery. All hopes of relief from New-York were over, and the spirits of the royal army exhausted by their unremitting fatigue. In this desperate situation, Lord Cornwallis sent a letter to General Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed, for digesting the terms of capitulation. Commissioners were accordingly appointed; and on the side of the allies were Viscount de Noailles and lieutenant-colonel Laurens. The father of the latter of these gentlemen was, at this period, closely confined in the Tower of London, of which Earl Cornwallis was constable. By this singular combination of circumstances, his lordship became a prisoner to the son of his own prisoner.*

ON the 19th of October, the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester were surrendered. The honor of marching out with colors flying, which had been denied to Gen. Lincoln, was now refused to Lord Cornwallis; and Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at Yorktown, precisely in the same manner his own had been conducted, about eighteen months before, at Charleston.†

THE regular troops of France and America, employed in this siege, consisted of about 7000 of the former, and 5500 of the latter; and they were assisted by about 4000 militia. On the part of the combined army, about 300 were killed or wounded. On the part of the British, about 500; and

* *Gordon, Vol. IV. p. 194.* † *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 271.*

1781. 70 were taken in the redoubts, which were storm-
 ed on the 14th of October.*

A BRITISH fleet, destined for the relief of Lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeak, the fifth day after his surrender; but on receiving intelligence of this event, they returned to New-York.

THE reduction of the British army was considered as decisive of the independence of America; and occasioned unusual transports of joy in the breasts of the whole body of the people. Well authenticated testimony asserts, that the nerves of some were so agitated, as to produce convulsions, and that at least one man expired under the tide of pleasure which flowed in upon him, when informed of Lord Cornwallis' surrender.† Gen. Washington manifested his exultation, by a general release of those who were under arrest, in order to diffuse universal joy. Two days after the capitulation, divine service was performed in all the brigades of the American army, in order to return thanks to the Almighty, for this great event; and the commander in chief recommended to all the troops that were not upon duty, that they should assist at divine service, “with a serious deportment, and with that sensibility of heart, which the recollection of the surprizing and particular interposition of Providence in their favor claimed.”‡

CONGRESS, on receiving official accounts of the great events, which had taken place at Yorktown, resolved to go in procession to church, and return

* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 271.* † *The door keeper of Congress.*

‡ *Ibid, p. 273.*

their public acknowledgments to the Deity, for the 1781. advantages they had gained. And the 13th of December was appointed, to be observed as a day of thanksgiving and prayer throughout the United States. The thanks of congress were voted to Gen. Washington, and to the French commanders, by sea and land. The singularly interesting event of captivating a second royal army, was universally considered as closing the scene of the American war.*

IN about three months after the capture of Lord Cornwallis was known in Great-Britain, the king and parliament resolved to abandon all offensive operations in America. In consequence of this, every idea of conquest being given up, arrangements were made for withdrawing the royal forces from Georgia and South-Carolina, and stationing them in New-York.†

DURING the war, the sufferings of the American prisoners were extreme. Vast numbers were confined in prison-ships, almost famished with hunger; and in the most deplorable circumstances pressed to join the royal service. However reprehensible the British may have been, indiscriminate censure would be unjust. General Carlton, during his command, conducted towards the American prisoners with a degree of humanity, that reflects the highest honor on his character. The refugees, in general, treated the prisoners with more cruelty than the British. As an instance of this, captain Joshua Huddy, who commanded a small party of

* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 274.* † *Lendrum, Vol. II. p. 386.*

1781. Americans, was by them taken prisoner, and executed, after a severe confinement. General Washington, having in vain applied to the British to deliver up the murderers of Huddy, was reduced to the disagreeable necessity of retaliating. Captain John Apgill, a young gentleman of great accomplishments, was designated by lot for that purpose. In the mean time Gen. Washington received a letter from the Count de Vergennes, interceding for capt. Apgill, which was also accompanied with a very pathetic one from his mother, Mrs. Apgill, to the count. Copies of these letters being transmitted to congress, they resolved, that the commander in chief be directed to set captain Apgill at liberty. The friends of humanity rejoiced, that the benevolent character of Sir Guy Carlton, who was appointed commander in chief of the British troops in America, would supercede the necessity of retaliation; and also in the well founded prospect of a speedy peace.*

* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 281—290.*



CHAPTER XXXVII.

Of the foreign affairs, which tended to bring about the general peace. The United Provinces acknowledge American independence. A treaty of amity and commerce is concluded with them. Change in the British ministry. The definitive treaty of peace is concluded. The American army disbanded. General Washington resigns his commission, and retires to his seat in Virginia.

THE United States afforded few great events, during the year 1782. This period, however, was deeply interesting to those European powers, who were involved in the consequences of the American war.

BRITAIN was, at this time, attacked in every ^{1782.} quarter, where she had foreign possessions. After a tedious siege, the island of Minorca was surrendered to the combined armies of France and Spain, under the command of the duke de Crillon, in the service of his most Catholic majesty. About the same time, the settlements of Demarara and Essiquibo, which in the preceding year had been taken by the British, were taken from them by the French. They were also successful in reducing St. Eustatius and St. Kitts. The islands of Nevis and Montserrat likewise fell into their hands.

1782. IN the mean time, the British ministry sent a Squadron, under the command of Admiral Rodney, for the protection of their possessions in that quarter. An engagement took place between him and the Count de Grasse, in which the French were defeated, with prodigious slaughter. Their killed and wounded amounted, by computation, to 3000 killed, and 6000 wounded; while the loss of the British did not much exceed 1100 men. For nearly a century, they had not suffered so much in any naval engagement.*

By this signal victory, the designs of France and Spain were frustrated, and no farther enterprises were undertaken against the fleets or possessions of Great-Britain, in the West-Indies.

OTHER decisive events soon followed. Gibraltar had for some time been besieged, and the Spanish monarchy used every exertion to reduce that important fortress. For this purpose, the Chevalier d'Arcon constructed machines, which were so well calculated for withstanding the combined force of fire and artillery, that they appeared for some time to bid defiance to the powers of the heaviest ordnance. At length, however, the batteries were on fire, while the besiegers were wholly employed to preserve their men from this devouring element. The generous humanity of the conquerors on this occasion, redounds more to their honor, than the most splendid victories. In endeavouring to save the lives of his enemies, the gallant and philanthropic captain Curtis nearly lost his

* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 294.*

own. Whilst for the most benevolent purpose he 1782.
 was along side the floating batteries, one of them
 blew up, and some heavy pieces of timber fell into
 his boat, and pierced through its bottom. By similar
 perilous exertions, nearly 400 men were saved from
 inevitable death. The complete relief of Gibraltar
 favored the re-establishment of a general peace.

WHILST the belligerent powers were successively
 induced to think favorably of peace, Holland
 acknowledged the independence of the United
 States. This event was, in a great measure, ef-
 fected by the address of John Adams (the present
 president of the United States) who, upon the
 capture of John Laurens, had been commissioned
 as minister plenipotentiary to the States General of
 the United Provinces. He was also empowered
 to negotiate a loan of money amongst the Holland-
 ers, and was successful in obtaining a seasonable
 supply, and in concluding a treaty of amity and
 commerce, between Holland and the United
 States of America.*

It was expected, not only by the sanguine Ame-
 ricans, but by many in England, that the capture of
 Lord Cornwallis would instantly dispose the nation
 to peace; but the American war was too much
 the favorite of the ministry to be relinquished, with-
 out a struggle for its continuance.

ON the 27th of November, after intelligence 1781.
 arrived of the capitulation of Yorktown, the king

* Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 300. The present president, and Mr. Jefferson,
 were appointed joint commissioners for forming commercial
 treaties with foreign powers. They succeeded in their negotiation
 with the king of Prussia, and the emperor of Morocco.

1781. of Great-Britain opened the session of parliament, with a speech, decidedly favorable to the continuance of the American war. The majority of lords and commons echoed back his sentiments. However, the minority daily gained ground, and obliged the ministry, by degrees, to relinquish their plans of subjugating America.

1782. AT this period, a change of ministry took place
 Mar. 27 in Great-Britain. A new administration was formed, under the auspices of the marquis of Rockingham, and was composed of characters who opposed the American war. The first business of the new ministry, was taking measures for effecting a general peace.

ON the 5th of May, Sir Guy Carlton arrived at New-York, and was instructed to use his endeavours to promote an accommodation. For this purpose, he dispatched a letter to General Washington, informing him of the late proceedings of parliament, and of the pacific disposition of the government and people of Great-Britain towards the United States. He also solicited a passport for his secretary, Mr. Morgan, to pay a visit to congress. His request was refused, for it was considered, with its concomitant circumstances, as introductory to a scheme for opening negotiations with congress, or the states, without the concurrence of their allies. On this occasion congress resolved, "that they would not enter into the discussion of any overtures for pacification, but in confidence and in concert with his most Christian majesty; and as a proof of this, they recommended

to the several states to pass laws, that no subject of his Britannic majesty, coming directly or indirectly from any part of the British dominions, be admitted into any of the United States during the war." This decisive conduct extinguished all hopes that Great-Britain might have entertained, of making a separate peace with America.*

IN the mean time the negotiations for peace were continued. The commissioners, appointed on the part of the United States, were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens. On the part of Great-Britain, Mr. Fitzherbert, and Mr. Oswald. Provisional articles between Great-Britain and the United States were, on the 30th of November, agreed upon, and signed, to take effect whenever peace should be finally settled with the court of France. The indefatigable exertions of the American commissioners, particularly those of Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay, procured highly advantageous terms for their country. By these, the independence of the states was acknowledged in its fullest extent. Very ample boundaries were allowed them, which comprehended the fertile and extensive countries on both sides of the Ohio, and on the east side of the Mississippi. An unlimited right of fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, and on other places where both nations had heretofore been accustomed to fish, was likewise continued to the Americans. From the necessity of the case, the loyalists were sacrificed; nothing fur-

* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 305.*

1782. ther than a simple recommendation for restitution, being stipulated in their favor.*

ON the 3d of September, the definitive treaties between Great-Britain, France and Spain, were signed at Versailles, by the duke of Manchester, and the plenipotentiaries of the said courts. On the same day, the definitive treaty with Great-Britain and the United States of America was also signed at Paris, by David Hartley, Esq. the British plenipotentiary, and the plenipotentiaries of the said states.†

1783. AFTER the return of peace was announced, the United States were reduced to the disagreeable necessity of dismissing their brave troops, without paying them their stipulated wages. In this emergency, an attempt was made, by spirited and anonymous publications, to inflame the minds of the officers and soldiers, and induce them, previously to laying down their arms, to unite in redressing their own grievances. As soon as General Washington was informed of the nature of these papers, he requested the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representation from the staff of the army, to assemble on an early day. When they were convened, he addressed them in a pathetic and animated speech, in which he pledged himself to exert all his abilities and influence in their favor; requested them to rely on the faith of their country, and conjured them, “as they valued their honor—as they respected the right of humanity—and as they regarded the mili-

Mar. 15

* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 307.* † *Gordon, Vol. IV. p. 350.*

tary and national character of America, to express their utmost detestation of the man, who was attempting to open the floodgates of civil discord, and deluge their rising empire with blood."* The patriotic exertions of their beloved general, saved the states from impending danger. The American army was disbanded, and returned peaceably to their respective places of abode.

THE army being disbanded, the commander in chief proceeded to Annapolis, then the seat of congress, to resign his commission. In every town and village through which he passed, he was welcomed by public and private demonstrations of gratitude and joy. When arrived at Annapolis, in a public audience, he resigned his commission to congress. A large number of distinguished personages attended this interesting scene. The general made a pathetic address to the president of congress, expressing the warmest affection for his country; and the devout and grateful feelings of his heart towards the Supreme Being. The president returned an answer; and the affecting review of past scenes almost deprived them of utterance. The mingled emotions, which agitated the minds of the spectators, on this occasion, were beyond description. Immediately on resigning his command, the magnanimous deliverer of America retired to his delightful seat at Mount Vernon, in Virginia.†

* *Washington's Epistles*, p. 249. † *General Washington constantly declined receiving any pecuniary compensation for his inestimable services, during the contest with Britain. Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 332, 333. Gordon, Vol. IV. p. 388, 389.*

1783. ALMOST eight years had elapsed, from the commencement of hostilities in Lexington, to the ratification of the provisional treaty. "There is," says Dr. Gordon, "scarcely an instance in history; of so great a revolution being effected, in so short a time, with so little loss of lives and property." A British author allows, "that so vast a force as was exerted by Great-Britain, had never been sent to so great a distance, nor was resisted by any power, apparently so unequal to the contest."*

THOUGH war exhibits all the ferocious passions of human nature, and opens scenes deeply wounding to the feeling heart; yet it also develops all the energies of character; and during the American contest, we contemplate with admiration the love of country, rising, in many instances, superior to every selfish consideration; an enthusiasm for liberty supplying the place of military discipline; and invincible resolution, finally, surmounting every obstacle.

THE American war exhibited the most eminent military characters, and brought to view the immortal Washington, and placed him at the head of an illustrious train of heroes. Among these, we view the enterprising Greene, triumphing over the British in the southern states; Gates, defeating Burgoyne at Ticonderoga; Lincoln, Putnam, Wayne, St. Clair, Mercer, Knox, Sumpter, Moultrie, Morgan, Mifflin, and many others, shining with distinguished lustre in their several departments.

* *Stedman's History of the American War.*

THE energy of American public councils, was as remarkable as their military courage. The proceedings of congress, during the war, evince the most determined resolution, blended with prudence and moderation. Among the many eminent men in this department, the illustrious Adams rises preeminent, and reflects immortal honor on the political character of America.

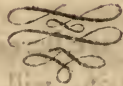
THE various beautiful traits in particular characters appear more striking, when contrasted with the gloomy and distressing images of war. For instance, the humanity of Carlton shines with brighter lustre, when opposed to the cruelty of some other British officers. The amiable qualities of an Hale and Andre are rendered more interesting, by the sympathy which is excited for their unhappy fate.

THE numbers of brave heroes, who fell during the contest with Britain, will ever be deeply regretted by every friend to humanity, and lover of his country. Among those illustrious characters, we view Warren, Montgomery, Wooster, Mercer, Campbell, and many others, who, animated with glowing patriotism, cheerfully sacrificed their lives in the cause of American freedom and independence.

THE humane and liberal mind, rising superior to local views and prejudices, will acknowledge the merit, and regret the fate of numbers of the British, who fell during the contest. Among these we behold Frazer, Andre, and others, "to whom

glory paid her highest tribute, and for whose fate even enemies have shed a tear."

THE striking divine interpositions in favor of America, during the contest, afford an interesting subject of contemplation to pious minds; while, amidst the apparently uncertain chances of war, they view, with grateful admiration, the controlling hand of Providence, rendering every event subservient to the liberty and independence of the United States.



CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Difficulties after the peace. Rebellion in Massachusetts.

NO sooner was peace restored, by the definitive treaty, and the British troops withdrawn from the country, than the United States began to experience the defects of their general government. Whilst an enemy was in the country, fear gave energy to the resolutions and recommendations of congress, and generally commanded a ready acquiescence on the part of the state legislatures. Articles of confederation and perpetual union had been framed in congress, and submitted to the consideration of the states, in the year 1778. Some of the states immediately acceded to them; others hesitated, and delayed giving their assent. However, in March, 1781, all objections to those articles were overcome, and they were ratified, as the frame of government for the United States.*

THESE articles, however, were framed during the rage of war, and under circumstances the most critical and embarrassing. To have offered to the people at this time a form of government, armed with the powers necessary to regulate and control the contending interests of thirteen states, and the possessions of millions of people, might have raised a jealousy between the states, or in the minds of the people at large, that would have weakened

* *Lendingum, Vol. II. p. 400.*

1782. their military operations, and, perhaps, have rendered a union impracticable. Hence the numerous defects of the confederation.*

ON the conclusion of the peace, when these defects began to be felt, the enemies of the revolution exerted all their talents to increase the popular discontent. A remarkable instance of this happened in Connecticut. As soon as the tumults of war had subsided, an attempt was made to convince the people, that the act of congress, passed in 1778, granting to the officers of the army half pay for life, was highly unjust and tyrannical, and that it was but the first step towards the establishment of pensions, and an uncontrollable despotism. The act of congress, passed in 1783, commuting half pay for life, for five years full pay, was designed to appease the apprehensions of the people, and to convince them that this gratuity was intended merely to indemnify the officers for their losses by the depreciation of the paper currency, and not to establish a precedent for the granting of pensions. This act, however, did not satisfy the people, who supposed that the officers had been generally indemnified for the loss of their pay, by the grants made them, from time to time, by the legislatures of the several states. Besides, the act, whilst it gave five years full pay to the officers, allowed but one year's pay to the privates, a distinction which had great influence in exciting and continuing the popular ferment, and one that turned a large share of the public rage against the officers themselves.†

* *Morse's Geography, Vol. I. p. 318.* † *Ibid, p. 319.*

DURING this situation of affairs, the public 1782.
odium against the officers was augmented by another circumstance. Just before the disbanding of the army, they had formed a society, which was called by the name of the Cincinnati, after the famous Roman dictator Cincinnatus. Their avowed designs were to perpetuate their friendship, and afford relief to their indigent brethren. The ostensible views of this society, however, could not screen it from popular jealousy. A spirited pamphlet appeared in South-Carolina, the avowed production of Mr. Burke, one of the judges of the supreme court in that state, in which the author attempted to prove, that the principles, on which this institution was formed, would, in process of time, originate and establish an order of nobility in the country, which would be repugnant to the genius of republican governments, and dangerous to liberty. This pamphlet appeared in Connecticut, during the commotions raised by the half pay and commutation acts; and greatly contributed to spread the flame of opposition.

THE opposition to the congressional acts, in favor of the officers, and to the order of the Cincinnati, did not rise to the same pitch in the other states, as in Connecticut; yet it produced much disturbance in Massachusetts, and some others. Dr. Morse observes, "jealousy of power had been universally spread among the people of the United States. The destruction of the old forms of government, and the licentiousness of war, had in a great measure broken their habits of obedience;

1782. *w* their passions had been inflamed by the cry of despotism; and, like centinels, who had been suddenly surprized by the approach of an enemy, the rustling of a leaf was sufficient to give them an alarm. This spirit of jealousy operated, with other causes, to relax the energy of federal operations.”*

THE long war, through which the states had struggled, involved them in a debt, which, on the return of peace, amounted to about forty millions of dollars. Though the people were instructed, by their contest, in the nobler science of the rights of mankind, it gave them no proportionable insight into the mazes of finance. Many judicious and influential characters, supposed the duties of excise and impost to be antirepublican. Those measures, therefore, could be adopted, at first, but partially, and to small effect. The necessary arrangements at the treasury were wanting. The paper currency, which had been emitted during the war, was depreciating; and it was not, perhaps, possible to preserve the public credit, under so many discouraging circumstances.†

To provide funds for paying their continental debt, engaged the attention of congress for some time before and after the peace. At length, a system of revenue, for funding, and ultimately paying the whole public debt, was completed, and offered to the states for their ratification.

1783. *w* By this it was proposed to raise two millions and an half of dollars annually, to defray the interest of

* *Morse, Vol. II p. 320.* † *Minot's History of the Rebellion in Massachusetts, p. 6—10.*

the continental debt. The whole system was trans- 1783.
 mitted to the state legislatures, and accompanied by
 an animated address, enforcing the propriety of
 its immediate adoption. Some of the states adopt-
 ed the whole of this plan ; others partially compli-
 ed with it ; and others wholly neglected to make
 provision for paying the interest of the continental
 debt. No efficient funds being provided for this
 purpose, the public securities greatly depreciated,
 and were negotiated only as a matter of specula-
 tion. The officers and soldiers of the late army,
 and those who furnished supplies for public exi-
 gencies, were obliged to receive for wages these
 certificates, or promissory notes, which deprived
 them of the greatest part of the reward due for
 their services. The non payment of public debts,
 sometimes inferred a necessity, and always furnish-
 ed an apology, for not discharging private con-
 tracts. Public faith being first violated, private
 engagements lost much of their obligatory force.*

MASSACHUSETTS, in her zeal to comply fully
 with the requisitions of congress, and satisfy the
 demands of her own creditors, laid a heavy tax
 upon the people. The new taxes, which the
 emergency of public affairs required, were loudly
 complained of by the inhabitants of that state.
 They could not realize, that they had shed their
 blood in the field, to be loaded with oppressive bur-
 dens at home. Their ideas of freedom were so
 high wrought, that it was difficult for the legisla-
 ture either to govern, without appearing to tyrann-

* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 337.*

1783. nize, or to relieve, without appearing to be overcome.*

THE commotions, which took place in Massachusetts at this period, were owing to the following causes, viz. A heavy debt lying on the state, added to burdens of the same nature, upon almost every incorporation within it; a decline, or rather an extinction of public credit; a relaxation of manners, and a free use of foreign luxuries; a decay of trade and manufactures, with a prevailing scarcity of money; and, above all, individuals involved in debt to each other. The heavy taxes, which were at present imposed upon the people, inflamed their minds, and caused them to feel the evils above enumerated, in the most sensible manner.†

THE long restraints, which the confusion of war had laid upon the administration of justice, in private cases, occasioned a very rapid increase of civil actions, when those restraints were removed. This circumstance gave employment to the practitioners at the bar, and increased their numbers beyond what had been usual in the state. The profession naturally became a subject of observation; and, at length, was generally spoken of as an object of reform. Advantage was taken of the prevailing jealousy against lawyers; and, unfortunately, a prelude to the insurrections was framed out of it. Inflammatory writings increased the prejudice against the profession, till the flame pervaded the greatest part of government; and the lawyers

* *Minor*, p. 17. † *Ibid*, p. 28.

were, in most instances, excluded from the house of representatives. The outcry against this order of men, was, at length, drowned in more general complaints; and grievances arose in all quarters, from a variety of causes.*

THE general discontent of the people arose to such a degree, as to produce acts of violence in Massachusetts, in the year 1786. Insurrections took place in various parts, in order to impede the sitting of the courts of common pleas, and the courts of general sessions of the peace. At length, an attempt was made to prevent the sitting of the supreme judicial court itself, by a number of insurgents, headed by one Daniel Shays, who had been a captain in the late continental army, but had resigned his commission, for reasons quite problematical.†

THE general court, which convened at this distressing period, passed three different laws for easing the burdens of the people, viz. an act for collecting the back taxes in specific articles; an act for making real and personal estate a tender in discharge of executions, and actions commenced in law; and an act for rendering law processes less expensive. They provided for the apprehending and trial of dangerous persons, but at the same time tendered pardon to all the insurgents. The act of indemnity was treated with so much neglect, that scarce a single person deigned to accept the benefit it held up. The lenient system of government

1786.

* *Minot*, p. 29—34. † *Ibid*, p. 49.

1786. was attributed, not to their humanity, but to their timidity and weakness.

THE rebels used every effort to inflame the minds of the people, by the grossest misrepresentation of the proceedings of government, and of the characters of public officers; they addressed the pity, and claimed the assistance of the people; they continued to assemble, and endeavoured to impede the measures of government, by an armed force.*

THE resolutions of the insurgents continuing thus hostile, a detachment of the militia, under the command of General Lincoln, was ordered out to support the judicial courts, and suppress the insurrection, during the winter of this year. Yet the rebels were so numerous in the counties of Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire, and so obstinately combined to oppose the execution of law by force, that the governor and council of the state thought proper not to entrust General Lincoln with military powers, except to act on the defensive, and to repel force with force, in case the insurgents should attack him. The leaders of the rebels, however, were not men of talents; they were desperate, but without fortitude; and whilst they were supported with superior force, they appeared to be impressed with that consciousness of guilt, which awes the most daring wretch, and makes him shrink from his purpose. This appears, by the conduct of a large party of the rebels before the magazine of Springfield, where Gen. Shepard,

* *Minot, p. 70—88.*

with a small guard, was stationed, to protect the 1786.
continental stores. The insurgents appeared upon
the plain, with a vast superiority of numbers; but
a few shot from the artillery made the multitude
retreat in disorder, with the loss of four men. This
spirited conduct of General Shepard, with the in-
dustry, perseverance and prudent firmness of Gen.
Lincoln, dispersed the rebels, drove the leaders
from the state, and restored tranquility. An act
of indemnity was passed in the legislature, for all
the insurgents, except a few of the leaders, on con-
dition, that they should become peaceable subjects,
and take the oath of allegiance. The leaders af-
terwards petitioned for pardon, which, from mo-
tives of policy, was granted by the legislature, on
condition, that they should never accept or hold
any office, civil or military, in the commonwealth.*

THE ingenious author of the History of the In-
surrection in Massachusetts, observes, on this occa-
sion, that "a dangerous internal war was finally
suppressed, by the spirited use of constitutional
powers, without the shedding of blood, by the hand
of the civil magistrate; a circumstance, which it is
the duty of every citizen to ascribe to its real cause,
the lenity of government, and not to their weak-
ness; a circumstance, too, that must attach every
man to a constitution, which, from a happy princi-
ple of mediocrity, governs its subjects without op-
pression, and reclaims them without severity."†

* *Morse*, p. 322. † *Minot*, p. 192.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

A new constitution is formed. Of its distinguishing traits. After mature consideration, it is received by the United States. General Washington chosen president.

THE disagreeable events recited in the foregoing chapter, were overruled for great national good. From the obvious defects in the articles of confederation, the people were induced to see the necessity of establishing a form of government, equal to the exigencies of the union.

AGREEABLY to a proposition made by Virginia, delegates from all the states, except Rhode-Island, assembled at Philadelphia, in May, 1787, and chose General Washington for their president. After four months deliberation, in which the clashing interests of the several states appeared in all their force, the convention agreed to recommend the plan of federal government.*

“THE fundamental distinction, between the articles of confederation and the new constitution,” says Dr. Ramsay, “lies in this; that the former acted only on states, the latter on individuals; the former could neither raise men nor money, by its own authority, but lay at the discretion of thirteen different legislatures, and without their unanimous concurrence was unable to provide for the

* *Mor/a*, p. 328.

public safety, or for the payment of the national debt. The experience of several years had proved the impossibility of a government answering the end of its institution, which was dependent on others for the means necessary for attaining these ends. By the new constitution, one legislative, executive and judicial power pervades the whole union. This ensures an uniform observance of treaties, and gives a stability to the general government, which never could be attained, while the acts and requisitions of congress were subject to the revision of thirteen legislatures, and while thirteen distinct and unconnected judiciaries had a constitutional right to decide on the same subject. The people of the United States gave no new powers to their rulers, but made a more judicious arrangement of what they had formerly ceded. They enlarged the powers of the general government, not by taking from the people, but from the state legislatures. They took from the latter a power of levying duties on the importation of merchandize from foreign countries, and transferred it to congress, for the common benefit of the union. They also invested the general government, with a power to regulate trade, and levy taxes and internal duties on the inhabitants. That these enlarged powers might be used only with caution and deliberation, congress, which formerly consisted of only one body, was made to consist of two; one of which was to be chosen by the people, in proportion to their numbers; the other by the state legislatures.

The execution of the acts of this compounded legislature was committed to a supreme magistrate, with the title of president.”*

THE president and vice-president, are elected every four years. The senators are chosen for six years; one third of their seats become vacant every two years. The representatives are biennially elected. One of the distinguishing traits in the constitution is, that it is formed without any civil establishment of religion; and expressly declares, “that no religious test shall ever be required, as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.”†

WHEN the new constitution was completed, conventions were called in each state; and the question of “acceptance or rejection,” was discussed with animation and ability. In those bodies, composed of persons who represented, impartially, every class and distinction of the people, it underwent the most critical and severe discussion. Whilst it was in debate, the anxiety of all parties was excited in the highest degree; the efforts of its advocates and opposers were unremitted. Yet, however various the sentiments respecting the merits of the system, all felt and acknowledged the necessity of an efficient federal government.‡

THE celebrated John Adams, present president of the United States, was absent from America when the new constitution was formed; he being, at that time, minister at the court of St. James’.

* *Ramsay, Vol. II. p. 342.* † *See constitution of the United States in Morse's Geography, Vol. II. p. 233.* ‡ *See Debates of the Convention in Massachusetts.*

PREVIOUSLY to the formation of the federal constitution, there were county conventions in the state of Massachusetts, which passed some resolutions, voting the senate an useless branch in the constitution, and they were fast approaching to a single assembly. This scheme led to the writing of those volumes, called "the Defence of the American Constitution."

THE author of this celebrated work advocates, as the fundamental principles of a free government, equal representation, of which numbers, or property, or both, should be the rule; a total separation of the executive from the legislative power, and of the judicial from both, and a balance in the legislative, by three independent, equal branches. "If there is one certain truth," says he, "to be collected from the history of all ages, it is this; that the democratical mixture in a constitution can never be preserved, without a *strong executive*; or, in other words, without separating the executive power from the legislative."*

THE first volume of this work arrived in America, whilst the convention were sitting, to form the federal constitution, and facilitated its acceptance, by uniting the members in one sentiment.

"IN this excellent book, the president expresses his approbation of the principles, on which the constitution is founded. The singleness of the executive power, its separation from the legislative and judicial departments, and the division of the legislative into two branches, instead of one, as M.

* *Preface to Adams' Defence of the American Constitution.*

Turgot and the French theorists had proposed; could not fail to attract the approbation of this great and enlightened statesman. His work will descend to posterity, who will compare the profound principles it developes, with the actual operation of our constitution, and will enjoy the precious advantage of knowing experimentally, whether we have proceeded as far as we ought in the path he has pointed out. The withholding of a complete negative from the president; the interference of the senate in appointments to office, the mode of their election by the respective states, the want of permanency in that body, sufficient for their self preservation against the paroxysms of sudden democratic intemperance, which have generally denied to republics the enjoyment of both tranquility and longevity, and, above all, the discordant and seemingly anarchial conflict of national and state sovereignties, the *imperium in imperio*, are yet considered by many, as deviations from a correct political theory. Those, who hold these opinions, are willing, nevertheless, to wait quietly for the lights, that time and experience will certainly throw on the subject.”*

THE constitution for the state of Massachusetts was drawn up by the present president, and reported to a committee. It underwent some amendments, and some alterations; one, which has since been regretted, that of taking from the governor the power of appointing military officers.

* The above remarks are made by a gentleman of distinguished political talents and experience.

THE constitutions of the states of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, are founded on the charters which in 1662 and 1663 were granted them by Charles II.

THE federal constitution, and several state constitutions agree in preserving the legislative, judiciary, and executive branches of government separate and distinct from each other.

RELIGIOUS liberty is a fundamental principle in the constitutions of the respective states. Some, indeed, retain a distinction between Christians and others, with respect to their eligibility to office; but the idea of raising one sect of Protestants to a legal preeminence, is universally reprobated.

AFTER a mature consideration, the federal constitution was acceded to by eleven of the United States. The ratification of it was celebrated in most of the capitals, with elegant processions, which far exceeded any thing of the kind exhibited in America previously to this period.

ON the 3d of March, 1789, the delegates from the eleven states, which at that time had ratified the constitution, assembled at New-York, where a convenient and elegant building had been prepared for their accommodation. On opening and counting the votes for president, it was found that George Washington was *unanimously* elected to that dignified office, and that John Adams was chosen vice-president. The annunciation of the choice of the first and second magistrates of the United States, occasioned a general diffusion of joy among

the friends to the union, and fully evinced that these eminent characters were the choice of the people.*

ON the 30th of April, 1789, George Washington was inaugurated president of the United States of America, in the city of New-York. The ceremony was performed in the open gallery of Federal Hall, in the view of many thousand spectators. The oath was administered by chancellor Livingston. Several circumstances concurred to render the scene unusually solemn—the presence of the beloved father and deliverer of his country—the impressions of gratitude for his past services—the vast concourse of spectators—the devout fervency with which he repeated the oath, and the reverential manner in which he bowed to kiss the sacred volume. Those circumstances, together with that of his being chosen to the most dignified office in America, and perhaps in the world, by the *unanimous* voice of more than three millions of enlightened freemen, all conspired to place this among the most august and interesting scenes, which have ever been exhibited on this globe.†

AFTER this great event, the federal union was strengthened by the addition of two other states. On the 24th of May, 1790, a convention of the state of Rhode-Island met at Newport, and on the 29th adopted the constitution, by a majority of two only.

THE general assembly of Vermont met at Bennington, January 10, 1791; and chose commis-

* *Morse's Geography, Vol. I. p. 332.*

† *Ibid, p. 333. See Gazette of the United States for 1789.*

sioners to attend congress, and negotiate the admission of that state into the union of the confederated states of America. The commissioners repaired to Philadelphia, and laid before the president of the United States, the acts of the convention and legislature of Vermont; and on the 18th of February, 1791, the admission of this state was completed, by an act of congress, without any debate, or one dissentient vote. By this event, all the controversies respecting Vermont, were brought to a conclusion. She was to take her seat in congress, March 4th, 1791; and the federal union was completed, in every part of the United States of America.*

* *Williams' History of Vermont*, p. 305.



CHAPTER XL.

Of the state of literature in New-England. The conclusion.

THE adoption of the federal constitution, by securing prosperity at home, and respectability abroad, placed the political affairs of the United States on a permanent basis. Since that period, learning has flourished, and new literary institutions have been founded.

DR. Morfe observes, that “learning is more generally diffused among all ranks of people in New-England, than in any other part of the globe; arising from the excellent establishment of schools in almost every township.”*

THE seminaries of learning in the United States, have occasioned a general diffusion of knowledge amongst the great body of the people.

AFTER the declaration of the independence of the United States, the charter, which was granted Harvard college in 1650, was established by the constitution of Massachusetts; and the governor and lieutenant-governor for the time being, together with the council and senate of the commonwealth, the president for the time being, and the Congregational ministers of the six adjacent towns, were declared successors of the board of overseers.

* *Morfe's Geography, Vol. 1. p. 340.*

ALL elections, to fill up vacancies in their own body, are made by the corporation; they also chuse all the executive officers; but all these elections are laid before the board of overseers for their concurrence, as also all their votes for the enactment of standing laws, granting salaries to the officers of the university, and conferring academical degrees. Other affairs respecting the university, the corporation manage according to their own discretion.

THE executive government consists of the president, three professors, four tutors, and the librarian. They watch over the morals of the students, see that the standing laws are obeyed, and make discretionary regulations, in cases not provided for by the laws.

THE professors and tutors give instructions in the university. There is a professor in divinity, a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and a professor of Hebrew and other oriental languages. The two first of these professorships were founded by Mr. Thomas Hollis, of London, merchant; who also presented to the university a philosophical apparatus, and a large number of valuable books; the divinity professorship in 1722; the mathematical professorship in 1726. The professorship of Hebrew, &c. was founded by the hon. Thomas Hancock, Esq. in 1765. These professorships bear the name of their founders.*

THE professors deliver public lectures to all the students assembled, beside which they give private

* *Morse's Geography, Vol. I. p. 417.*

instructions to each scholar separately, in their several branches.

EVERY spring, the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy gives a course of experimental lectures in philosophy, in all its branches, the apparatus furnishing him with a complete set of instruments for the purpose. These lectures are given in the philosophy chamber, to the two senior classes assembled together, so that each class has the lectures repeated. Besides these lectures, he gives annually a complete course of lectures in astronomy, both theoretical and practical, to the senior class.

THE tutors teach the languages, rhetoric, geography, history, logic, metaphysics, ethics, the elements of geometry, natural philosophy and astronomy.

THERE are foundations laid for two professorships in the university, which are not yet come into operation, viz. a professorship of rhetoric and oratory, and a professorship of natural religion, moral philosophy and civil policy. The fund for the first was a legacy, left by the late Nicholas Roulstone, Esq. of Boston. The fund for the second was from the estate of the late hon. John Alford, Esq. of Charlestown. These funds are fast accumulating by interest, and will soon be sufficient for the purposes designed.

AMONG the presidents and professors of this university, have been men highly distinguished, both for their natural abilities and acquired accomplishments. :

THE students are instructed in the learned languages, and the various branches of the arts and sciences. They are annually examined very critically and fully respecting their progress, before a committee of the corporation and overseers.*

BESIDES this committee, on the part of the overseers, who attend the examination, they also appoint a committee twice a year to visit the college, and strictly to enquire into its state. These committees make report to the board of overseers, and if they judge, that by any new regulations, the interests of religion, morality and literature can be promoted, they propose them. The corporation more frequently meet, and are always attentive to these objects; so that great care is taken of the institution.

FOUR years complete a course of education in the university, at the end of which term, if there are no circumstances prohibiting, the president presents the names of those, who have completed their course, to the corporation and overseers, as candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts; who vote them the degree, upon their complying with the exercises appointed by the executive government. At the end of three years, from the time of their receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts, they may be admitted to that of Master of Arts, if there be no lawful impediment.

ALL academical degrees are publicly conferred by the president, on the commencement day, which is on the third Wednesday in July annual-

* *Morse's Geography, Vol. I. p. 418.*

ly. This is one of the most splendid anniversaries in the United States.

FROM the establishment of this college, to the year 1794, 3399 young gentlemen had received its honors, of whom 1079 had been, or were then ministers of the gospel. This most ancient of all the American literary institutions, has furnished, both for the church and state, its full proportion of eminently learned and useful men.

THERE are no fellowships, for maintaining graduates at the university; but there is a fund, from the estate of Edward Hopkins, Esq. of Great-Britain, which yields a considerable sum annually, towards the support of six resident Bachelors of Arts, appointed by the corporation, which they receive after a certain term of residence, and publicly delivering in the chapel four theological dissertations, two in the Latin, and two in the English language.

THE late governor Bowdoin left the sum of 400 l. "the interest to be annually applied in the way of premiums, for the advancement of useful and polite literature among the residents, as well graduates as undergraduates of the university. The president and fellows of the university to give forth subjects to be treated upon, judge of the performances, and determine every thing concerning this donation, in such manner as they shall apprehend most conducive to the design of it." The corporation have put this excellent design into operation.

IN the year 1782, a medical institution was formed in the university. It consists of three professorships, viz. a professorship of anatomy and surgery, a professorship of the theory and practice of physic, and a professorship of chymistry and materia medica. Each of the professorships is established upon a foundation. These professors give a complete course of lectures in their several branches.

THE public buildings, belonging to the university, are Harvard hall, Massachusetts hall, Hollis hall, and Holden chapel. The library contains twelve thousand volumes, and is continually increasing by donations, and by the income of a legacy, left by the late Thomas Hollis, Esq. of London. In point of literary value, it is equalled by none in America, and perhaps exceeded by none in the civilized world. The philosophical apparatus, which cost about 1500 l. contains a complete set of instruments, for exhibiting a course of experimental lectures in natural philosophy and astronomy. Newly invented and improved instruments are frequently added to the apparatus, which is far superior to that of any other seminary of learning in the United States.

THE museum contains a handsome collection of natural and artificial curiosities. It may be said to be pretty rich in minerals, owing to the munificence of Dr. Lettsom, of London, in the year 1794; and of the French republic the year following. The collection from these two sources, is extensive and various.

A COURSE of lectures in natural history, in which mineralogy is particularly attended to, is given every spring and autumn in the university, by Dr. Waterhouse; but there is no professorship of natural history yet established.

IN the year 1797, 3533 young gentlemen were computed to have received their education in the university of Cambridge.*

THE other seminaries of learning in New-England, were also in a flourishing situation.

ACCORDING to the original charter of Yale college, the trustees were limited to the choice of ministers. In 1792, the general assembly of Connecticut passed an "act for enlarging the powers, and increasing the funds of Yale college." This act grants a very generous addition to the funds of that college, on condition that the governor, lieutenant-governor, and six senior counsellors, be associated with the corporation, in the collegiate government.

THE corporation, on the 28th of June, unanimously voted their acceptance of this act; and this transaction received the general approbation of the clergy, and of the citizens of every description, throughout the state. At the subsequent commencement, in September, a junction was formed between the civilians expressed in the act, and the members of the old corporation, who from that time constituted one united board in the government of the college.†

THE funds of the college, before the liberal addition made to them in 1792, consisted of rents

* See Catalogue for 1797. † *Holmes' Life of President Stiles*, p. 401.

of land, to the amount of 800 l. a year, about 800 l. raised by tuition money, upon the students, besides funds for the support of two professorships.

IN 1792, the college library consisted of about 3000 volumes. This seminary is furnished with a valuable philosophical apparatus, and the museum contains many natural curiosities.

THE three learned languages, together with the liberal arts and sciences, in their several branches, and a general course of universal literature, are taught in this college.

IN May and September, annually, the several classes are critically examined in all their classical studies. As incentives to improvement in composition and oratory, quarterly exercises are appointed by the president and tutors, to be exhibited by the respective classes, in rotation. A public commencement is held annually, on the second Wednesday in September, which calls together a more numerous and brilliant assembly, than are convened by any other anniversary in the state.*

ON the augmentation of the funds of Yale college, a sufficient sum was applied to the erection of another edifice, which was completed on the 7th of July, 1794. Another part of the augmented funds was applied to the professorship of mathematics and natural philosophy.

FROM the foundation of Yale college, to the year 1795, 2372 received their education at this seminary, of which number 618 were educated under the presidency of Dr. Stiles.†

* *Morse's Geography*, Vol. I. p. 459. † *Life of President Stiles*.

FROM December, 1776, to June, 1782, the college edifice at Providence; in Rhode-Island, was used by the French and American troops for an hospital and barracks, so that the course of education was interrupted during that period. No degrees were conferred from 1776 to 1786. From 1786 the college again became regular, and is now very flourishing, containing upwards of 60 students.

THIS institution is under the instruction of a president, a professor of divinity, a professor of natural and experimental philosophy, a professor of mathematics and astronomy, a professor of natural history, and three tutors. The institution has a library of between two and three thousand volumes, containing a valuable philosophical apparatus. Nearly all the funds of the college are at interest in the treasury of the state, and amount to almost two thousand pounds.

IN the year 1795, 380 young gentlemen had received their education in this college.*

THE situation of Dartmouth college, in a frontier country, exposed it, during the late war, to many inconveniences, which impeded its prosperity. It flourished, however, amidst all its embarrassments, and is now one of the most growing seminaries in the United States.

THE funds of this college consist chiefly of lands, amounting to 80,000 acres, which are increasing in value, in proportion to the growth of the country. The revenue of the college, arising from the lands, in 1793 amounted annually to 140 l. By

* *Catalogue for 1795.*

contracts then made, would amount, in four years after, to 450 l. and in twelve years to 650 l. The income for tuition, is about 600 l. per annum.

THE number of undergraduates is, on an average, about 150. A grammar school, of about 50 or 60 scholars, is annexed to the college.

THE students are under the immediate government and instruction of a president, who is also professor of history; a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, a professor of languages, and two tutors. The college is furnished with a handsome library, and a philosophical apparatus, tolerably complete. A new college was erected in 1786, containing thirty-six rooms for students. Its situation is elevated, healthful and pleasant, commanding an extensive prospect to the west. There are three other public buildings, belonging to the college.*

It was computed in the year 1795, that 621 students had received their education at this seminary.

IN October, 1791, the legislature of the state of Vermont passed an act for establishing a university at Burlington, on Lake Champlain, in a delightful situation, on the south side of the Winouski, or Onion river, and appointed ten trustees. The sum of 6000 l. was secured by donation, part of which is to be applied to the erecting of buildings, and part settled as a fund for the support of the institution. There have been reserved, in the several grants made by this state, about 33,000 acres of land, for the use of the university.

* *Morse's Geography, Vol. I. p. 376.*

ty. This, in a few years, will become a valuable fund.*

A NUMBER of years have elapsed, since the adoption of the federal constitution, during which time experience has fully evinced its distinguishing excellences; and the flourishing state of the country has exhibited the blessings of a wise administration. The beloved commander of the American forces, who excelled the most celebrated heroes in the field, was equally eminent in the cabinet; and, after presiding at the head of the union with an unrivalled sublimity of character, crowned with the fervent benedictions of a grateful people, he retired to spend the remainder of his days in tranquil solitude. But, the alarming aspect of affairs again rouses his glowing patriotism, and he cheerfully relinquishes the sweets of retirement, and magnanimously takes the chief command of the armies of the United States,† to reanimate their courage, and add energy to their exertions. This evinces the most noble and disinterested virtue, and adds the brightest lustre to his immortal fame, while the Americans behold with triumph the heroic deliverer of their country, generously devoting the remnant of his life to its defence.

AT the present critical period, the United States contemplate with exalted satisfaction, the illustri-

* *The compiler of the History of New-England has transcribed the greatest part of the account of the seminaries of learning from Dr. Morse's Geography, because she has found it impossible to give such a concise and accurate account in any other words; and because there have been but few alterations since the last edition of his Geography, in 1796, from which the quotations are made.*

† July 13, 1798.

ous Adams, a native of New-England, placed at the head of government. His penetrating genius, and solid judgment, the dignified calmness, blended with the energy of his character, his profound political knowledge, his early and persevering exertions for the liberties of his country, his inviolable integrity and sincerity, his invincible firmness, supreme regard for religion, and the rectitude and prudence of his present administration, promise all the success that human wisdom can ensure, and open to the United States a fair prospect of increasing respectability.

IN reviewing the history of New-England, and the late American revolution, we find the wonders of divine Providence, rising conspicuously in every scene. At first we behold a small number of people, who, when oppressed by cruel persecution, preferred the sacred rights of conscience to all earthly enjoyments, and exchanged their native country for a dreary wilderness, inhabited by savages. After struggling with complicated hardships, the wilderness, at length, was made to blossom "like a rose," by the hand of persevering industry. The persecution in England proved the mean of planting flourishing colonies in the new world; and though their prosperity was sometimes clouded, yet their misfortunes, and even their prejudices and bigotry were overruled for good. Those emigrants, who were driven from Massachusetts by persecution, formed new settlements. The colonies increased, and rose in wealth; and the interposing hand of Heaven protected them under

every difficulty. When involved in the distressing Philipian war, they were enabled to subdue their savage enemies. When they were deprived of their charters, the sudden revolution in England relieved them from the oppression of arbitrary power. When the united efforts of the French and their Indian allies were levelled against them, the conquering arms of Britain and her colonies frustrated their attempts. Then arrived the important era, when Britain exerted her utmost strength to deprive them of their dearly purchased privileges. Arms must finally decide the contest; and a new country, under great disadvantages, was involved in an unequal war with that potent nation, which had recently baffled the united powers of France and Spain. Inspired by the sacred flame of liberty, the Americans triumphed over the well disciplined forces of the parent state. Britain was defeated by the arms she despised; and after expending nearly an hundred millions of money, and losing an hundred thousand lives, was reduced to the humiliating necessity of acknowledging the independence of the United States.

AFTER independence was obtained by the sword, and acknowledged by the neighboring nations, a spirit of anarchy threatened the subversion of our recently acquired liberty. The interposition of Providence was visible, at this alarming crisis, in causing those tumults finally to terminate in the establishment of the federal constitution, which

placed the privileges of the United States on a permanent foundation.

EXALTED from a feeble state to opulence and independence, the federal Americans are now recognized as a nation throughout the globe. From a comparison of their former with their present circumstances, the mind is expanded to contemplate scenes of future grandeur, and is led to conclude, that the United States are advancing in knowledge and happiness, while the wealth and power of more ancient governments is rapidly declining. The highly favored Americans ought to raise their minds in grateful aspirations to Heaven, that the fair prospect may never be reversed, by a spirit of anarchy prevailing among the people; but that GENUINE LIBERTY, *united with* ORDER *and* GOOD GOVERNMENT, may continue to diffuse their blessings through the widely extended union.

Finis.



R R F

N O T E S.

For Chapter I. p. 11.

THE court of high commission had been erected by Elizabeth, in consequence of an act of parliament, passed in the beginning of her reign, in order to arm the sovereign with full power to suppress all opposition. All appeals from the inferior courts were carried before the high commission. Every breach of the act of uniformity was cognizable in this court. See Hume's Hist. of England. Vol. V. p. 158.

For Chapter II. p. 25.

The Star-Chamber was a court composed of certain noblemen, bishops, judges and counsellors of the sovereign's nomination, to the number of twenty or thirty, with his majesty at their head. The determinations of this court, are not by the verdict of a jury, nor by any statute law of the land, but by the will of the sovereign; yet are as binding as any act of parliament. Neal, Vol. I. p. 5.

For Chapter XV. p. 192.

Though the inhabitants of Connecticut were successful in preserving their charter, governor Dudley, and other men of arbitrary principles, so far succeeded in their attempts against their privileges, that in the latter part of the reign of King William, a bill was prepared for reuniting all the charter governments to the crown. When they found the bill could not be carried, they made a more open and powerful opposition to the charter rights of Connecticut, but all their attempts were frustrated. See Trumbull, p. 432—433.

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